The Coudert School for Slander SIMON W. GERSON

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

December 17, 1940

THE REAL STORY *of* WASHINGTON-LONDON RELATIONS *by* R. PALME DUTT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Between Ourselves

WE DEEPLY regret that, because of illness, Joseph North was unable to complete his first article on Mexico for this issue. It will appear in next week's NM.

Many of our New York readers are well aware of the success of the 29th annual NM ball which took place at Webster Hall last Saturday night. They were out in sizeable numbers—many hundred strong—to enjoy the smart "Civilization As They Throw It" revue, and to waltz, two-step, tango, fox trot, rhumba, and conga until closing time. The revue included several numbers in the best satiric mood, notably, "Song of the Renegades" and "You've Got to Appease with a Strip Tease." Frankie Newton's talented swing band kept the rhythm beating with appropriate eight-bar interpolations.

Those who attended the ball will be glad to know that another gay moment is on the immediate NM calendar. Just three weeks away is New Year's Eve, and not even an evening at the Ritz (which you can't afford, anyway) will satisfy you as completely as NM's New Year's Party. It will be held December 31 at Manhattan Center, 34th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues.

R. Palme Dutt

R. Palme Dutt is among the foremost Marxists in the capitalist world. Editor of the British "Labour Monthly" since its inception in 1923 and author of "Fascism and Social Revolution," Dutt is best remembered for his "World Politics: 1918-1936"—a basic analysis of the post-war era. Dutt was educated at Cambridge, has been identified with the British Communist Party for twenty years, and is today recognized as

We learn that the party is to be called a "rigadoon," which is Old French for a gay jig.

From China come rare teas, including pungent, fragrant Mayling. We mention this in a true Christmas spirit of peace and good will, to tell you that when you buy Mayling tea you will be sending a few precious pennies over the Pacific to the destitute children of China. The American Committee for Chinese War Orphans, which is associated with the China Aid Council, sponsors the sale of half-pound tins of this tea, as well as two-ounce samplers in gay-colored lacquer-red, just the thing for Christmas gifts. You may purchase them at stores in many cities throughout the country. All the stores cooperating in this relief program do so without deducting any commission so that the full profit goes directly to the orphans. "Who can resist the opportunity to enjoy choice tea at reasonable prices and at the same time know that each half-pound tin one uses supports one of China's orphans for a week?" the committee asks. The China Aid Council is located at 200 Fifth Ave., NYC, where you may also purchase Mayling directly.

For several years you have been accustomed to hear the voice of Alison Burroughs when you call NM. Alison is on vacation this week, preparing to open a Dalcroze school in Harlem—at 303 West 125th Street, to be precise. She studied the Dalcroze system of eurythmic exercises for dancers, singers, and actors in Switzerland, and was the only Negro to be graduated from the Geneva school. Next Saturday evening she is holding open house at the school headquarters. Katherine Dunham will be there, also W. C. Handy and Harlem's popular singer, Jessie Zachery. An honored guest will be Mme. Kamaladivi, member of the executive council of the All India Congress and a close associate of Nehru. There will be dancing and refreshments.

NM contributors Isidor Schneider and Joy Davidman are among the speakers who will participate in a gathering of poets Friday evening, December 13, to discuss the sorry circumstances in which their fellows find themselves these days. The meeting, sponsored by the New York chapter of the League of American Writers, will be held at the Newspaper Guild Club, 117 West 46th Street. Norman Corwin, who has won a fine reputation as a writer of unusual radio scripts ,will speak on "Why Poetry Is Dead, and Whether It Can Be Revived." Jacques Romain, Haitian poet, will discuss, "The Frustrated Poetic Renaissance." Other speakers will be Eda Lou Walton and David Wolff.

Gen. Victor A. Yakhontoff, of NM's speakers' bureau, will discuss "These Turbulent Times" at the Brighton Community Forum next Sunday evening. This forum is operated for the joint benefit of NM and the Brighton Community Center, at 3200 Coney Island Avenue, NYC.

Who's Who

ADAM LAPIN is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Samuel Putnam is the author and translator of many books and an outstanding authority on Latin-American cultural affairs. . . . Simon W. Gerson has just returned from a country-wide trip which he reported for NM. . . . Ed Falkowski is a former Pennsylvania coal miner. He worked in pre-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union. . . . Henry Hart is the author of a novel, *The Great One*. . . . James Morison is a free-lance journalist. . . . Alexander Bergman's poems and reviews have often appeared in NM. . . . Isabel Cooper has frequently reviewed art exhibitions for this magazine. . . . Ralph Ellison is a young Negro critic. . . . C. N. Netzer is a graduate student in literature.

Flashbacks

Now degenerated into a reactionary sect, "the Socialist Labor Party was a revolutionary party in those days (1900) and De Leon, its leader, was a brilliant theoretician and speaker, a courageous fighter against capitalism." Thus writes Mother Bloor in her autobiography, about Daniel De Leon who was born Dec. 14, 1852, in Curacao, Dutch West Indies. . . . The Bill of Rights became law Dec. 15, 1791. . . . At a mass meeting British Columbian soldiers rebelled and refused to embark for Siberia, Dec. 15, 1918. Only 10 percent of 2,000 were willing to sail. At the point of bayonets, some 700 were marched to the ship. Many had to be handcuffed before they were pushed aboard. . . . The following day in another part of the west coast, Seattle, longshoremen voted to refuse to load munitions intended for use against the USSR.

THIS WEEK

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXVII, NO. 13

December 17, 1940

The Truth about Anglo-American Policy *by R. Palme Dutt* 3
Super-Broker Roosevelt *by Adam Lapin* 7
Women Are Human Beings: II *by Ruth McKenney* . . 9
Gropper's Cartoon 11
Brazil's Master Demagogue *by Samuel Putnam* 12
The Coudert School for Slander *by Simon W. Gerson* . 14
No Gold Bricks for Ohio *by Ed Falkowski* 16
Editorial Comment 17
Readers' Forum 21

REVIEW AND COMMENT

An Honest Man's Credo *by Henry Hart* 23
Trade Unions *by James Morison* 24
The Candle Burns Out *by Alexander Bergman* . . . 25
Negro Prize Fighter *by Ralph Ellison* 26
Family Novel *by C. N. Netzer* 27

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

The Art of a Master Builder *by Isabel Cooper* 28
"Delicate Story" *by Alvah Bessie* 29
About Chaplin's Film *by Daniel Todd* 30
Art work by Michaels, Rodney.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 461 Fourth Ave., New York City. Copyright 1940, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada, $5.50 a year, $3.00 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVII DECEMBER 17, 1940 NUMBER 13

The Truth About Anglo-American Policy

R. Palme Dutt continues his analysis of the war. Britain's and America's basic antagonisms. What each hopes to get out of the other. Perspectives for tomorrow.

NEW MASSES *is happy to bring to its readers another exclusive article by R. Palme Dutt whose contributions these last six months have so enriched our understanding of world events. This article reached us after a seven-week delay by the British censor, and appears to have been written at the beginning of October.*

But it is in no sense outdated. In fact, we consider it triply important: first, because it deals almost exclusively with the vital problem of Anglo-American relations; second, because it analyzes these relations from a British rather than an American vantage point; third, because it comes from the foremost British Marxist, himself in the active leadership of the struggles of the British people.—The Editors.

THE war for civilization is letting loose daily greater barbarism on mankind. As the capitalist world steps deeper and deeper into the pit of war, so each circle of the inferno appears to eclipse all that preceded, and the end recedes into the distance, dark and unfathomable. Churchill calls on his followers to gird themselves for the campaigns of 1941 and 1942, and hints at the prospect of a "third world war." Hitler calls on his followers to gird themselves for five years of war. The United States arms on a formidable scale for a future stage of the war which has not yet begun. Such is the outlook of the statesmen of capitalism. With every day's events the Communist analysis of the war and of the only solution of the war is being proved and confirmed anew even to the most obstinate ideologues who still cling to the fading slogans which no longer bear any relation to present realities. More and more clearly this war of empires is revealed as a war of Juggernauts which trample over the bodies of human beings.

THE DECISIVE CONTESTANTS

What is the outlook of the present war situation? Where is the conflict of imperialism leading the world? This is the first question which governs the immediate perspective. Three months have passed since the days of June which saw the collapse of the French empire and the completion of the first period of the war. In two previous articles (NEW MASSES for September 24 and October 1) I endeavored to analyze the main features of the consequent new world situation: the advance of the war toward world war; the laying bare of the world arena for the triangular contest between the three main claimants for world power, Britain, Germany, and the United States; the domination of Central Europe by Germany; the advancing activity of the United States, first to complete the domination of Pan America and second to prepare more and more direct participation in the world war; and the consequent crisis of British imperialism in face of its inner weaknesses, its difficult strategic situation, and the advancing challenge of German and American imperialism. This analysis ended with the crisis of policy of British imperialism, reflected in the sharp internal political issues, at the same time as the war advanced toward world war. It is now possible to carry this analysis a stage further in the light of the developments of the past three months.

The essential character of the world situation by the end of June was that the conflict of imperialism for the new division of the world had reached a high degree of concentration: weaker powers had been eliminated or subordinated, although Japan still continued a regionally independent policy; the three decisive contestants, representing the highest level of capitalist technique and organization, Britain, Germany, and the United States, now stood out more sharply than at any time before, either in the first world war or in the intervening period. The first ten months of the war were revealed as only an opening ground, preparing the way for the world war. This first phase had resulted in a preliminary partial redivision of territories, resources, and influence between these three powers at the expense of weaker states, but with the main issue of the redivision of the world still unsolved and driving to extended conflict. Germany had established its domination over the continent of Europe from north to south and from the Atlantic to the borders of the Soviet Union. Britain had suffered a series of defeats, in Poland, Finland, Norway, the Low Countries, and France, and had emerged stripped of its allies and in a dangerous strategic situation; but at the same time it had secured control of the gold and shipping resources of the conquered states, of the overseas empires of Belgium and Holland, and even (though not until after a naval bombardment of its former ally) of part of the navy and overseas colonies of France. The United States had advanced economically in the extra-European markets at the expense of Britain and Germany: had increased its gold stocks by £750,000,000 between September 1939, and July 1940; and by the Havana Conference in July and the agreement with Canada strengthened its domination in the American continent and established the claim of American "collective trusteeship" to take charge of former European colonies in America.

COMPLEMENTARY PLANS

The pivot of the new situation was the deepening crisis of the British empire and the strengthened advance and challenge of both German and American imperialism. The war plans of British imperialism for the initial phase of the war had gone wrong. The British diplomatists and strategists had calculated on two factors to pull them through, on the basis of which they had entered lightheartedly into the first stage of the war with no realization of what was in front. In the first place, they had calculated in accordance with their traditional technique of two centuries past, on the armies of their continental allies, whom they supported financially, to bear the brunt of the war in the first period, while Britain carried through its heavy rearmament, on the basis of the latest technique, only after the outbreak of war, to come in victoriously at the close in the midst of the exhausted other states. In the second place, they calculated (or rather a section of the British rulers calculated) that their pressure on Germany would soon produce its effect and lead to a change of policy and the victory of the "moderate" capitalist and militarist elements, the Thyssens, Fritsches, etc., with whom they were in close contact, so as to make possible a speedy agreement after a carefully limited war, the "switching" of the war against the Soviet Union.

These two plans were in practice complementary. In the more favorable situation, if the second plan succeeded, the heavy rearmament secured from the working people in the name of the fight against fascism would serve at once against the Soviet Union. If, on the other hand, the change in Germany was delayed, the system of continental allies would secure the time to enable the overwhelmingly superior resources of the British empire to secure final victory and prepare the world counter-revolutionary front on this basis. Hence the lightheartedness and vainglorious-ness of all British expression in the first period of the war (the "hang out the washing on the Siegfried Line" period); the easy tempo and comfortable corruption of the armed preparation; the vaunting braggadocio and taunts to the enemy alongside actual extreme

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disorganization (the Ironside spirit); reaching to its extreme height during the Finnish adventure with the readiness to consider forcing the pace and taking on two enemies at once.

RULING-CLASS AIMS

All these plans went wrong, and so completely wrong that this whole preceding period is today like an archaic, remote echo of a vanished century. The system of continental allies bore no resemblance to 1914. The central pillar of the 1914 system, laboriously constructed in the preceding decade, had been the Russian alliance. Only the combined force of Britain, France, and Russia, with the later addition of Italy, had availed with difficulty to hold the front against the superior dynamic force of the more powerful, technically advanced, and highly organized German imperialism. It was the Russian thrust into East Prussia in 1914 which led von Moltke to withdraw two army corps from the Western Front and weaken the right flank, and thus broke the Schlieffen Plan and led to the Marne. But the same class outlook which found no difficulty in cooperating with Russian czarism from 1907 to 1917 led to inextinguishable hostility to the Socialist Soviet Union from 1917 to the present day. Rather than weaken these basic counter-revolutionary class aims the British reactionaries preferred to go to war with only France and Poland as their allies in place of the 1914 relation of forces.

Even in 1914 such a distortion of the traditional British policy would have led to certain defeat. But 1939 was no longer 1914. France and Poland were states in an advanced stage of social decomposition; the French people, who had supported with enthusiasm the Peace Front and the Franco-Soviet Pact had been betrayed by the Daladiers and Blums before the war began; France was dragged into war by British pressure, not only against the will of the people, but also against the will of its ruling class. The result was a speed of collapse which threw all the British plans into confusion and created a temporary legend of invincible Nazi power.

The alternative plan of "switching" the war failed equally against the superior strength and superior diplomacy of the Soviet Union. Faced with the formidable power of the socialist state on the one side, and the ramshackle weakness and corruption of the British system of allies on the other, German imperialism not unnaturally preferred to hold fast to the path of non-aggression in relation to the Soviet Union and turn its offensive to the West, after the peace offer, backed by the Soviet Union, had been refused. The intended British-controlled palace revolution in Germany never materialized; instead Thyssen fled and Hitler's armies swept to the Atlantic and the Channel. British policy received its heaviest defeat for generations; the fall of Chamberlain was only the first admission of that defeat. Stalin's warning of the "fiasco" was fulfilled.

The crisis of the British empire, gathering through all the years since the last war, thus reached the most acute intensity with the summer of this year. German imperialism, with superior air power, and dominating all the coasts of Europe bordering Britain, was able to direct its offensive against the heart of the empire, its ports, seaborne trade, industrial centers and communications. Italy pressed forward the attack in Africa, occupied Somaliland, invaded Kenya, and, by September, began the invasion of Egypt. Spain openly proclaimed its unity with the Axis and announced its claim to Gibraltar. Rumania repudiated the British alliance; Turkey played for time. Japan took advantage of the situation to adopt a threatening attitude, arrested British subjects, and secured the closing of the Burma Road and the evacuation of Shanghai. In India, the negotiations with the congress ended in breakdown. The United States organized the Havana Conference to strengthen its economic and political hold in the American continent, and advanced its first form of claim to the European colonies in America. The socialist sector of the world grew in strength, as the Baltic States passed finally out of British control and their peoples united with the Soviet Union. On every front the months since the coming to power of the Churchill government witnessed a series of further defeats, retreats, and evacuations on the part of British imperialism.

The consequent crisis of British policy has not been resolved, but has already reached sharper definition of the concrete alternatives in these following months. The British empire is at once the largest and most vulnerable of the three contestants in the battle for world domination. On the existing relations of strength and still more of potential strength, to expect to maintain unimpaired the domination of one quarter of the world in the face of the challenge of the advancing German and American imperialisms is no longer tenable. Concessions become inevitable as struggle. *The choice before the British ruling class becomes the choice between coming to terms with German capital, at a price, or of coming to terms with American capital, also at a price.* This issue underlies the still continuing conflict within the ranks of the British ruling class. Either alternative means in fact the selling out of the interests of the British people in the desperate endeavor to maintain the world interests of the British bourgeoisie. This issue is not yet finally resolved, although the past three months have seen a marked approach to the victory of one alignment over the other. The weaker British imperialism under conditions of extreme emergency has made heavy concessions to American imperialism to secure its support. The tripartite conflict begins to resolve itself into the immediate confrontation of two camps; on the one side, the German-Italian-Japanese bloc; on the other side, the Anglo-American front, with the increasingly open leading role of the United States. This alignment and relationship are by no means stable, but this general pattern underlies the mingled diplomacy and intensified warfare of the past three months.

The catastrophic events of June were followed by an apparent lull in the advance of the war during July. In fact, the month of July was mainly occupied by feverish diplomatic moves, alongside intensive armed preparation for the next stage. In the first half of July Britain came to terms with Japan over the closing of the Burma Road. Germany followed with the peace offer which received public expression in Hitler's speech of July 19. In this peace offer Hitler directed his attack especially against the Churchillian conception of the retreat of the government to Canada, that is, against the policy of orientation to American imperialism. He proposed peace on the basis of the division of spoils reached, or the mutual recognition of the German empire in Europe and the British empire overseas, that is, an Anglo-German division of the world, and threatened that the alternative would be the annihilation of the British empire. This peace offer was rejected in the broadcast of Lord Halifax on July 22, who proclaimed the principle of the self-determination of nations in Europe (not overseas, i.e., not for the subject six-sevenths of the British empire), invoked God on his side, and proclaimed the war a "crusade for Christianity." Like the Kaiser in the last war, Lord Halifax claimed to have God in his pocket.

INTENSIFICATION AND ALIGNMENT

The British rejection of the July peace offer was a political decision pregnant with consequences. It meant in the first place the intensification of the war. But it meant in the second place, as the necessary condition of this, the victory of the Churchill-Beaverbrook alignment of orientation to the United States against the advocates of the Anglo-German deal, and the intensification of the war upon this basis. The London *Times* editorial recognized the responsibility involved in determining on the continuation of the war:

> The rulers and people of this country . . . are fully aware of the vast extent of the suffering that must accompany the continuance of the war, and understand the responsibility they must bear in declaring that it must go on to the end.

But the British imperialists recognized that the existence of the British empire was at stake, and that peace under the existing conditions of defeat would be equivalent to capitulation. Not the principles of the independence of nations, which they more than any have trodden under foot, nor the pious invocations of God and Christianity, but the very real concern for the maintenance of their world possessions drove the British imperialists to the heavy hazard of the continuance of the war. In the objective appraisal of Molotov on the rejection of the peace offer:

> This means that the Government of Great Britain does not wish to give up colonies which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

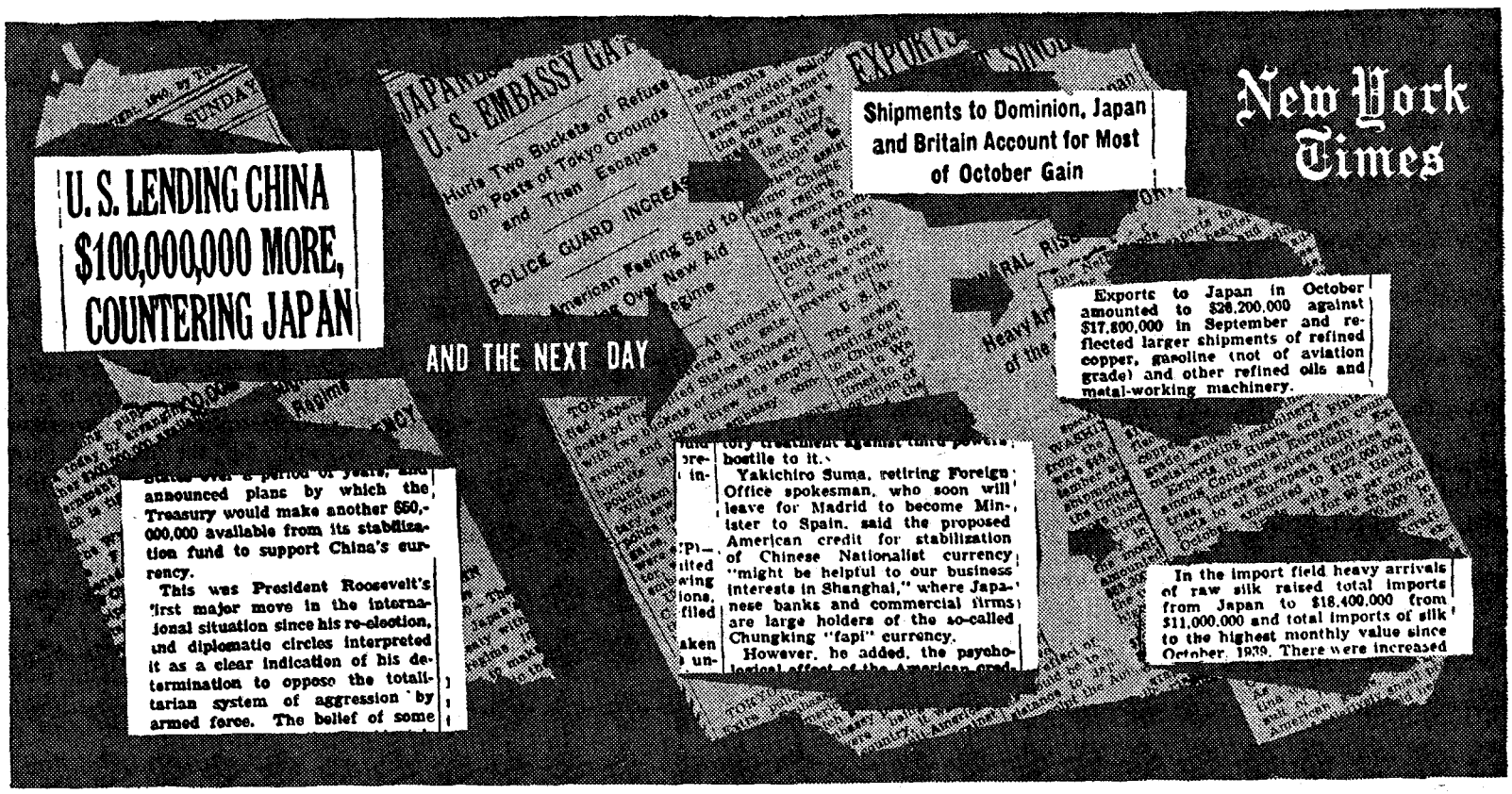
Britain possesses in every part of the world, that it is prepared to continue the war for world supremacy, despite the fact that, after the defeat of France and Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany, this struggle involves considerably greater difficulties for Britain. [Molotov, speech to the Supreme Soviet, August 1st, 1940.]

The rejection of the German peace offer in July was followed immediately by close negotiations with the United States for an agreement approximating very closely the nature of a war alliance. On August 17 President Roosevelt announced that "the United States government are holding conversations with the British government with regard to the acquisition of naval and air bases." On August 18 the establishment of the United States-Canadian Joint Defense Board was announced. On August 20 the British Prime Minister Churchill described the lines of the proposed agreement for the transfer of naval and air bases to the United States on a ninety-nine years' lease. On September 2 the agreement covering the lease of bases and the transfer of over-age destroyers was ratified (without submission to Parliament or the American Senate) by an exchange of notes between the governments. An act of far-reaching significance for the future of Anglo-American relations, the deepest antagonism of imperialism, had taken place, as it were, on the back of the Anglo-German war.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES

The agreement of September 2 revealed a marked change from Anglo-American relations in the last war. In the last war also, the United States gave decisive help to Britain for the final winning of the war, in the ultimate interests of American world hegemony, although the Wilsonian dreams were never realized. But in the last war this help was given in return for promissory notes in the shape of a mounting gigantic debt. The United States was left with paper in its hands. In the first victorious years after the war the American bourgeoisie inflicted a severe debt settlement on Britain (far more severe than on any other European debtors), ignoring the protests of the Balfour note. But when the time came, the British government in practice repudiated the debt. This mistake has not been repeated by the American bourgeoisie in the present war. The initial supplies of goods have only been given in return for solid cash and surrender of securities. And the price of the further agreement has been this time exacted in the shape of tangible cessions of territory; for, in spite of all the anxious denials of any change of sovereignty ("the British empire is not for sale," as the London *Times* editorial of September 4 found it necessary to insist), the lease for ninety-nine years is equivalent to cession.

A significant exchange of notes on August 29 preceded the agreement of September 2. The American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, sent a note to the British ambassador on August 29, to inquire whether Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons on June 4 that the British Fleet would not be scuttled or surrendered, but sent overseas to defend other parts of the empire represented "the settled policy of the British government." Lord Lothian replied in the affirmative. This exchange throws an illuminating searchlight on the political meaning of the agreement. The speech of Churchill on June 4 was the speech in which he held out the prospect of the British government abandoning Britain "subjugated and starving," and betaking itself


SUNDAY
U.S. LENDING CHINA $100,000,000 MORE, COUNTERING JAPAN
announced plans by which the Treasury would make another $50,000,000 available from its stabilization fund to support China's currency.
This was President Roosevelt's first major move in the international situation since his re-election, and diplomatic circles interpreted it as a clear indication of his determination to oppose the totalitarian system of aggression by armed force. The belief of some
AND THE NEXT DAY
U. S. EMBASSY GAT
Hurls Two Buckets of Refuse on Posts of Tokyo Grounds and Then Escapes
POLICE GUARD INCREAS
American Feeling Said to
hostile to it.
Yakichiro Suma, retiring Foreign Office spokesman, who soon will leave for Madrid to become Minister to Spain, said the proposed American credit for stabilization of Chinese Nationalist currency "might be helpful to our business interests in Shanghai," where Japanese banks and commercial firms are large holders of the so-called Chungking "fapi" currency.
However, he added, the psycho-
Shipments to Dominion, Japan and Britain Account for Most of October Gain
New York Times
Exports to Japan in October amounted to $26,200,000 against $17,800,000 in September and reflected larger shipments of refined copper, gasoline (not of aviation grade) and other refined oils and metal-working machinery.
In the import field heavy arrivals of raw silk raised total imports from Japan to $18,400,000 from $11,000,000 and total imports of silk to the highest monthly value since October, 1939. There were increased

How to Read Your Morning Newspapers *might be one title for the above clippings. An even better title might be: how to understand the government's foreign policy. Most Americans took it for granted that the hundred-million-dollar loan for China was, as the first clipping says, another "clear indication" of Mr. Roosevelt's "determination to resist the totalitarian system of aggression." But what are the facts? Half the loan consists of commercial credits, which mean little to China unless she can get munitions and airplanes. As things stand now, there is no indication that she will get them in any quantity. The other half of the loan is for currency stabilization, which is even more deceptive. Currency stabilization is of significance only for those Chinese whose wealth is expressed in currency, and who trade abroad. They happen to be China's merchants and bankers, many of whom are the most wavering elements in China's united front, the least dependable for any struggle against imperialism. Our second clipping shows that the Japanese will also benefit from such loans since they have been speculating in China's currency, and control the coastal cities where much of this wealth is frozen. Then look at the third clipping, from the same newspaper the same morning. It shows that in the October trade figures,* imports from Japan jumped to a new high, *while exports rose by half to more than $26,000,000! This is only for one month, but equals* five times *our trade with China. Is this not indeed a "clear indication" of the President's "determination to resist the totalitarian system of aggression?"*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the New World to carry on the struggle. It is sufficiently evident that this engaging perspective for the people of Britain—which it has since been endeavored to cover over with glosses and interpretations—would, in fact, mean that the refugee government of the British bourgeoisie, cut off from their main base of heavy industry and exploitation in Britain would become a satellite government dependent on the United States, and that the British empire would thus fall without a struggle into the lap of the United States. This is the perspective to which the United States government was concerned to tie down the British government in black and white before it would sign the agreement.

Does the agreement of September 2 constitute a final and decisive landmark in Anglo-American relations? Does it mean that the basic antagonism of world imperialism has been settled without a battle against the background of a different war, and that henceforth British imperialism passes slowly but surely into the orbit of the more powerful American imperialism? To draw such a conclusion would be premature. The general trend is evident and inescapable, with the relative weakening of British imperialism and the growing economic, financial, and, ultimately, political predominance of American imperialism. The British bourgeoisie has shown its accustomed political skill and flexibility in knowing how to adapt itself to such a situation, to make a virtue of necessity and to welcome the rising rival as an honored partner. *But the battle is not over.* The British ruling class is congratulating itself on the success with which, in a situation of desperate emergency, it has once again roped the United States into the war and secured its powerful aid to insure their victory and save their empire. Once the immediate danger is over they still count on being able to maneuver in the consequent situation and maintain their empire. The American ruling class is still divided, hesitant, and suspicious of being again fooled and taken in tow by the more adroit and experienced British diplomats. The economic conflict continues with undiminished intensity. The present agreement is by no means stable.

ALTERNATIVE TENDENCIES

The alternative tendencies in British policy, which have gone to ground for the moment and maintain a discreet silence in public, are by no means vanished or quiescent. Powerful forces of British monopoly capital, which had in the preceding years built up close relations with their opposite numbers in German monopoly capital, still see the future along these lines, once the present conflict can be overcome, and foresee intense economic conflict against American capital. The role of Hoare in Franco Spain; the Burma Road agreement and cordial interchanges with Japan at the same time as the United States was proclaiming its disapproval and disagreement; the cold hostility to the Soviet Union at the same time as the United States was negotiating a new Soviet trade agreement; all these indicate the continuing alternative tendency. Nor has it failed to be noted that the Report of the Bank for International Settlements, issued on May 27, 1940, still contained the names of Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, and Dr. Funk, director of Hitler's economic policy, as joint directors, together with Van Zeeland as manager of the bank, and with two other German bankers, three Frenchmen, two Italians, a Dutchman, a Swiss, and a Swede as the other directors. The bank, this interesting joint report in the midst of war points out, "undertakes only such operations as are irreproachable from the point of view both of the belligerent and other countries. In December 1939 certain rules of conduct which the bank had as a matter of fact observed since the month of September were codified and brought to the knowledge of its clients."

The inner conflict of British policy is thus still in fact unresolved, although the present intensification of the war conceals for the time being the conflict. The Anglo-American agreement of September 2 has enormously intensified the war, and is likely to lead to its prolongation. The United States, which holds increasingly the whip hand, is the most interested in driving forward to the maximum and prolonging the European war. The Anglo-American agreement of September 2 was immediately followed by Hitler's speech of September 4 announcing the beginning of intensified air warfare. The agreement made it essential for German imperialism to strike quickly before the full weight of American participation should be able to take effect and seal the fate of German prospects. But the intensified air warfare by no means excludes the renewal of the peace offer; on the contrary, it bears also the character of an extreme form of pressure toward the aim of a speedy settlement. The maneuvers of diplomacy on both sides, and the most violent extension of the war go hand in hand. But the whole logic of the conflict, the depth of the antagonisms, and the issues at stake drive forward the rulers, even in the face of their own hesitations and anxieties before the suicidal consequences of their own policies, to continuously deepened, extended, and protracted war without end or issue, until such time as the people themselves take their fate out of the hands of their rulers. The necessity of such independent action of the British people becomes more urgent with every further development of the war. No section of the ruling class can offer any way of hope for the people. Both the main lines of policy and orientation within the ruling class are disastrous from the standpoint of the interests of the people. Both mean limitless economic burdens and the vista of unending war. Both mean the counter-revolutionary front of capitalism against every movement of liberation, against socialism and the labor movement, and against the Soviet Union. It is not true that the choice before the British people is confined to the rival reactionary policies of the ruling class. On the contrary, there remains the third alternative—the path of real independence of the British people, of independence from all imperialism, of fraternal unity with the working people of all countries in the struggle for liberation, and the winning of peace on this basis.

Rodney

THE WAY FORWARD

Such independence requires as its condition the independence of all the subject nations of the British empire—an emancipation that means the freeing, not only of the colonial peoples, but of the British peoples. It requires the ending of the system by which the people are required to bleed and sacrifice in order to defend and maintain the world possessions and exploitation of their masters.

The mass campaign which has developed especially in London from the conditions of the intensified air war and the fight for the protection of the people, the sharpened class consciousness, and struggle against the government whose callous neglect of the people is exposed, and the consequent awakening realization of the character of the war, have shown the way forward. All the many disparate channels of discontent need now to be gathered together into a powerful, united movement against the government of imperialism and for a new government of the working people, alone capable of protecting their interests and leading the way to peace. This aim is expressed in the aim of the People's Convention in January 1941, the call for which has now been issued. The conditions of agitation and organization in the coming months are caught up in the maelstrom of war and will have to face many difficulties. But the way of united action and struggle for their own interests and their own aims remains the only way forward for the people. The old order is engaged in dynamiting its own foundations along with the people whose fate has been cast to be born within it. The way is opening for the people to strike out for their own deliverance. That way forward must be and will be found in the face of all obstacles, and will finally prevail against all the forces of reaction and destruction which are at present kindling the fire of the old order.

R. Palme Dutt.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Super-Broker Roosevelt

The President inspects Caribbean real estate and prepares to make John Bull pay for every bullet and bomber. That Argentine loan and the very nervous Joe Kennedy.

Washington.

IT IS a hard-boiled and tough-minded President who has been cruising on the *Tuscaloosa,* looking over the British islands and French-owned Martinique in the Caribbean. Gone are the hesitation and ineptitude that seemed so marked after Munich between the New Deal and "total defense." The President's new mood has been apparent at his press conferences. With calm savagery, he batted down a correspondent who wanted to know whether he had flatly renounced a fourth term. On another occasion, he delivered a cold-blooded, off-the-record discourse on what he chose to call Communist saboteurs in industry, which was more interesting for its tone than for what was actually said.

That is the temper of the chief executive with whom Sir Frederick Phillips, British Under-Secretary of the Treasury, and Lord Lothian will have to deal when he returns sun-tanned and rested from his trip. The President has always been jealous of his place in the history books of tomorrow. He is now playing with skill and full awareness his role as head of a great expansionist power bidding for world domination.

There is in the President's mood nothing of the Christmas spirit which pervades the *New Republic* as it offers to donate to the British outright, and without any strings attached, a billion dollars' worth of armaments annually. In his talks with a number of visitors to the White House just before he left on his cruise, the President made no secret of his irritation with the British for not being sufficiently grateful for the aid they are receiving from the United States. He has, of course, not swerved from his program of continuing and expanding aid to Britain along with militarization of American economic and social life. With complete ruthlessness, he is prepared to furnish this aid on a scale greater than ever. But, according to reports, he has made up his mind that the British will have to pay.

SECURITY HOLDINGS

As the most immediate form of payment, it is understood that the President is insisting on having the British sell some of their vast security holdings in the United States and in South America. In this the President is in full agreement with American business and financial interests who have become increasingly annoyed with the British for being unwilling to make adequate payment for American arms in terms of surrendering some of their economic positions in the Western Hemisphere.

Several British shipping companies, for example, have continued to operate their routes between South American and United States ports with chartered Scandinavian vessels. The report of the United States delegation to the Inter-American Maritime Conference commented with dry emphasis that these lines "have been able to maintain approximately the same schedules as they did before the war."

Most important of all, the British have been singularly unwilling to dip into the American investments which form one of the principal sources of ruling-class revenue. An exact appraisal of British resources in the United States is difficult, but correlation of various estimates issued by the Federal Reserve Board and the Department of Commerce points to a pre-war figure of at least $7,000,000,000 including gold reserves, dollar balances, and investments. A Department of Commerce estimate issued four months after the start of the war placed investments here of the United Kingdom alone, excluding Canada, at $1,080,000,000 in stocks and bonds and $1,168,000,000 in direct investments. It may be argued that not all of the direct investments can readily be turned into cash, but that would hardly hold true of the stocks and bonds. And yet the Treasury Department reported recently that the British had sold only $158,428,000 in securities in the first year of the war. In South America, the British are reported to have at least $4,000,000,000 of investments, mostly in stocks and bonds which could be easily disposed of.

THE ARGENTINE LOAN

In their grim effort to maintain their foothold in the Western Hemisphere, the British are fighting a losing battle. The proposed $100,000,000 loan to Argentina is seen here as a most significant move by the Roosevelt administration to break British control in that country. The Argentinians have too long been an unruly influence at Pan-American conferences. They are being told now where they will have to look in the future for economic assistance and what may politely be termed political leadership. The British will no doubt soon be receiving hints to get rid of the principal Argentinian railroad which they now own. There is little question in high government circles here that the British will have to make economic concessions in the Western Hemisphere if they are to obtain their loan in the United States. After all, this isn't the first world war when His Majesty's navy interfered with American shipping to neutral nations and President Wilson again and again restrained hot heads in the State Department from sending strong diplomatic protests. The relationship of forces has changed. It is believed here that the British will grumble, and yield.

Once they do agree to make some substantial payments in securities and real estate, they will probably get a direct government loan. American bankers are not too anxious at the moment to float a big loan for Britain; that is not quite the same as having their wives knit sweaters. They would rather have the government do the job. As a lesser consideration, there is the very plain-spoken ban in the Johnson act against private loans to debtor nations. Why risk a spectacular Senate debate on repealing the Johnson act when the Neutrality Act was apparently written to meet just this kind of situation? There seems to be no explicit prohibition against government loans to belligerent nations in the Neutrality Act. Certainly there are loopholes enough in it for Attorney General Jackson to find without too much legal research. The Export-Import Bank and the Credit Commodity Corp. are the two government agencies that are being considered for the purpose of loans to Britain.

SHIPYARD CONSTRUCTION

Construction of British-owned shipyards in this country to meet the problem created by Nazi submarines is also being seriously discussed, and may be undertaken very shortly. In addition, the Maritime Commission will probably approve the sale of all available merchant ships in the laid-up fleet to supplement the approximately 150 vessels which have already been bought here by Great Britain and Canada since the beginning of the war. But there is still a considerable gap which will have to be filled before the British can start turning out ships in the United States on a large scale. It is believed that the President is planning to meet it in characteristically bold fashion. He is reported on the highest authority to be thinking of leasing to the British as much of the United States merchant marine as can possibly be spared. American shipping companies will be assured of a good rate for leasing their boats, and can count on getting new ones from the Maritime Commission at the government's special reduced prices for the shipping interests. It is also possible that the Maritime Commission may itself lease to the British some of the new ships it is building. To put this entire deal across, either revision of the Neutrality Act or some fancy hocus-pocus involving change in registry of the leased vessels will be necessary.

It was a little more than a year ago that the late Senator Pittman and other administration spokesmen in the Senate pointed out at great length that the Neutrality Act would keep us out of war by avoiding the two great dangers of 1917—war loans and the sinking of American ships. With the administration negotiating loans and preparing to turn over American ships to the British, not much will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michaels

"Won't you come up to see my defense contracts?"

be left either of cash or of carry. And just as neutrality was long ago transformed into "non-belligerence," the distinction between non-belligerence and active military participation in the war is now fast disappearing.

As the personal representative of the old Chamberlain crowd in the United States, ex-Ambassador Joe Kennedy will no doubt play an important role in the controversy over the President's move to aid Britain. It would be over-simplifying Kennedy's position to say that he is against sending munitions to the British, or is pro-Nazi, and leave it at that. Actually he is still pro-Munich. He is haunted by the fear of Communism sweeping over Europe if the war continues much longer. When he proclaims that he is going to organize a crusade for peace, he means a crusade against the Soviet Union, a world axis against Communism. He has said as much to some of his Washington friends.

Kennedy has close ties with the Catholic hierarchy and with important Wall Street circles. He is thinking along the same lines as Herbert Hoover and many important industrial figures. It would be a mistake to underestimate Kennedy. He may play an influential role through the so-called peace committee which he is talking about organizing.

Nor is Kennedy as far apart from some of his erstwhile friends in the administration as may be imagined. Certainly Bill Bullitt, former ambassador to France, and others of the President's close advisers are as pathologically anti-Soviet as Kennedy. The possibility of a popular uprising in Paris worried Bullitt more than the approaching Nazi legions. Reports of unrest in Italy are now being received in the State Department with grave uneasiness. If a revolutionary situation should develop in Italy or France, the President would no doubt shift to Kennedy's position of favoring an agreement with fascism to prevent the victory of socialism in Europe.

The chief difference between the President and Kennedy lies in their timing. The President is less disturbed than Kennedy about the immediate danger of Communism spreading over England and the entire European continent. The reason for this is that the President places far more confidence in the British Labor Party than Kennedy. In the event of a British victory, the President expects the Labor Party leadership to play the same role in suppressing revolutionary movements as German Social Democracy after the first world war. Kennedy, on the other hand, borrowed from Chamberlain and the Cliveden set a distrust of men like Ernest Bevin and Sir Walter Citrine. He is convinced that they aren't "sound"—just as some of the die-hard tories in Congress still don't trust Sidney Hillman. But the President has had long experience with men like Hillman and Bill Green. He knows that their British prototypes can be relied upon to remain faithful servitors of Churchill, Halifax, and the old-line ruling class. And he intends to use them all as junior partners of an expanding American imperialism. ADAM LAPIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Women Are Human Beings: II

Why the machine has set women free in the Soviet Union and not elsewhere. Ruth McKenney replies to the Kinder, Kueche, and Kirche philosophers. Last of two articles.

THE question arises, but if the machine is supposed to set women free, why hasn't it? And the answer is that it has in one country of the world, the Soviet Union. I believe nobody can write about the "woman question" today in good faith without stating the fact that women have been completely and unconditionally emancipated in the Soviet Union. It is a fact. It is the truth. It cannot be denied even by people who dislike Russian foreign policy to the point of hysteria.

Compare the Russian girl-child's training with an American youngster's. Yesterday the Armenian-Russian girl's mother wore a veil and ate in the kitchen after she served her master, her husband. Yesterday the Ukrainian-Russian girl's mother was a peasant, dragging the plow for her husband, suffering his blows, dying in childbirth. Today the small Russian girl drinks orange juice and plays soccer so that she will be strong and healthy. Her teachers tell her she may choose from the whole world her profession or job, she can learn to be anything, do anything. She can be a sailor, and the captain of a proud merchant ship. She can be an aviator, she can run a coal mine, she can be in the Supreme Soviet, or she can direct movies. Anything, everything, the world is hers. She can ride a tractor and plow the plains, she can run a die press in a factory, she can be a cook, or a tailor, the president of the district Soviet, or the mayor of a town.

SECURITY FOR WOMEN

And naturally—but naturally—while she is running her tractor, flying her airplane, operating her factory, she will get married and have children, two or three of them, not too close together for her health's sake. The whole society is organized to help her lead a dignified, normal, happy life. She gets a paid vacation for weeks before and weeks after her child is born, and her job is of course waiting for her when she comes back to work. Her child gets the best care in the world—in this country even the rich can't buy the tender, solicitous, scientific training her baby receives in a Russian nursery. The Russian girl is encouraged to make a happy home for her children and her husband; she isn't encouraged to be the sort of housewife that madly collects recipes and sews new curtains all the time. Her main interest is, of course, her work plus her home—so she can employ intelligent service from the combined wages of the family, somebody to come in and cook and clean for her. That somebody is an advanced student; the wages are paid to the bureau that employs her. She works in homes four hours a day while she learns to be an agronomist or a designer of household furniture. The working Russian woman knows that when she has housework done she is not condemning another human being to a lifetime of dull servitude.

All this sounds like an ideal dream world. Of course it isn't that. Women are in transition in Russia, centuries of superstition cannot be overthrown in a mere twenty years. The Russian magazines carry articles blistering the idle wives of engineers and miners who sit around home and live on their husbands' wages. The Russian newspapers furiously denounce husbands who expect their wives to sacrifice for the benefit of masculine opportunities. Of course there are flaws. But the main thing is that the majority of women are able to lead happy, well-adjusted lives, doing work they like, comrades to their husbands, friends and co-workers to their children. A Russian mother can do her work, knowing that her family is secure, safe against hunger and poverty. Freed from her long slavery, she can expand, she can be a human being.

And the proof of the pudding—Russian newspapers today are studded with casual references to women in the world. Mayor Anna so-and-so complains that the housing estimate for her town is too low, 600 houses are needed, not 500. Mary Ellen Blank, agronomist for the Siberian sub-station, states that a new type of cherry tree has been bred on the proving grounds under her direction. Captain Louisa Jones has just brought her ship—a freighter from South Africa—through the submarine belt. Deputy Bettina Smith denounces Commercial Airline Pilot Suzy Brown for flying too low over Odessa. And so forth.

Just casual references. Nothing unusual. Women are expected to take their place in society. Their work is judged for itself. If Pilot Brown flew too low, she will be fined or fired and nobody will say that what can you expect with a woman driving? If Mayor Anna so-and-so does a good job, she'll get a medal, and maybe a big promotion in the next election, and nobody will say she's doing awfully well for a woman. She's just doing awfully well.

WOMEN AND THE PROFIT SYSTEM

So why isn't it that way in the United States? We still have better machinery than they do in the Soviet Union, although the Russians, from being in last place in modern development are now second, next to us. We still have larger schools, better hospitals, more libraries than the Soviet Union, although again, that nation has come from bottom to next to top in twenty years. We're still the richest, most developed nation in the world. Why haven't American women been able to make themselves free and happy?

The answer is: the profit system. Perhaps that seems far-fetched, blaming the anomalous position of women in America on the capitalist class. But look at the facts. Everybody knows we have over 9,000,000 unemployed in the midst of a war boom. Suppose to this 9,000,000 were added at least another 25,000,000 women, seeking jobs in industry. If you think this over, you will have the answer to the strange, heart-breaking training of women in modern American society. The power-driven tool, once capitalism's great force, has now become its Frankenstein. Machinery cannot be used for profit now and still employ all available labor power in the working class. Gradually, the gap between what the manufacturer pays his workers, and what manufactured articles the workers can afford to buy with their wages, grows larger; the market shrinks—and unemployment, the great tragedy, the rotting, fatal disease of capitalism marches on the scene.

And in the midst of this shifting scene stands the woman. She is trained to work because the capitalist needs her labor—in industries where the employer can pay her rock-bottom wages, for instance, or in case of war when available man power diminishes. It is one of the searing ironies of this too-ironic economic system, that war, which brings the woman untold personal agonies, also liberates her from her long dull life in the kitchen and parlor. The women in Great Britain today

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have come up out of the slavery of the home to do honest, socially necessary work. But the new-found freedom must be gall in their mouths and wormwood to their hearts, for another generation of their husbands and sons and fathers and this time their babies, is being killed off, even while they celebrate their right to work.

But capitalism, which educates the modern woman to do productive work, rarely needs her labor power. Indeed, in the past twenty years, every capitalist nation in the world has suffered from a dreadful surfeit of productive workers. So the woman, trained for an emergency, is fed a whole library of ideas, to keep her safe in the grueling unpaid labor of the home. Her husband is carefully taught to despise intelligent, able women; the movies and the novels and the magazines feed her the dreams of romantic love. Out of the need to keep women safely off the already glutted labor market comes the stream of nauseous propaganda: married women must not work; keeping house is fun; doing housework is scientific; be a "home-manager"; a man likes to come home to find a pretty girl keeping his slippers warm; if you work, he'll leave you.

And so on. And so forth. This is the reason for the whole fetish of super-housekeeping, promoted in a hundred women's magazines, a thousand newspaper women's pages. This is the reason for the entire beauty cult, the mad business of super-self-decoration. Women have to have something to do; they have to be cajoled and kidded and forced into staying home, everlastingly home, until they are needed. Every women knows that all this business about housekeeping is just pure plain hooey except perhaps the women who write the blithe articles for the papers about it; and no wonder, they have an amusing job, exhorting other women to do beauty exercises while sweeping under the bed! Ha!

STAY-AT-HOME PROPAGANDA

As a matter of fact, if women were needed in the labor market, the capitalists, in their press and magazines, through their advertising and over their radio, would suddenly reverse the current stay-at-home propaganda. Overnight, the real truth would appear. "Ladies," the women's pages would thunder, "send your laundry out, it's cheaper if you count in your own labor time!" Why should a house be kept so frightfully clean it jumps at you, a dulcet voice lady commentator would mew over the airwaves. Stern newspaper editorials would argue that two-thirds of the current scrubbing and waxing and polishing that women do is just something to keep them busy and sell soaps and waxes and polishes. And in very truth, why should a meal take all day to get with Bird's-Eye foods, and canned specialties and good bakeries around every corner? If a woman likes to cook for fun (a few do, and I among them), why shouldn't she do her fancy cooking on Sunday, *pour le sport?* And for the children, every expert knows that nurseries and preschools are the ideal training for children. No mother, no matter how well educated or intelligent, can possibly give her children at home what they would get in a group of youngsters carefully supervised. If women were ever needed to work, the majority of women, I mean, in this country, you would see an overnight reversal in the silly propaganda forced down women's throats today. Men would be told that the correct thing is to encourage your wife's ambitions, help her to clean and cook, doing share and share alike. And the crazy notion that it takes a woman's full time in a modern machine-age society to keep house, take care of the children, and toady to her husband would evaporate into thin air.

If! I wish I could say that I thought the time would ever come, in this system of society, when women would have a chance to be normal human beings. I'm afraid that matters are getting worse for women, not better. Hitler "solved" unemployment by taking the youth for his immense army, stray labor for concentration camps and road gangs, and finally forcing all women out of schools and factories, offices, and professions, back to the middle ages and the purdah. Today, in this country, important men writers appearing in respectable magazines have the gall to suggest the identical solution for America's staggering unemployment problem. Even famous women columnists urge women back to the home—as though they had ever been able to get out of it, in any appreciable numbers. The rising, bumbling tide of obscurantist literature on the woman question engulfs feminine America. In proportion to the increasing gravity of the unemployment problem, which stubbornly refuses to disappear in the face of vast profits for steel and armament corporations, the anti-woman propaganda grows, often fed, to their everlasting shame, by bought-off women themselves. I say bought-off, using the phrase literally. The exceptional woman, who through gall, luck, money, or advantages of education manages to make a place for herself in this man's world, is often the first to kick her humbler sisters in the teeth for the greater glory of the system which so handsomely supports her.

So must women sit back and resign themselves to a long dreary period of reaction against the struggle for women's place in society? Must the next generation of girls content themselves with sewing and basting the turkey and hanging out the wash and keeping an absurd little bookkeeping system under the delusion they are "home-managers"? Must the working women docilely give up their jobs and march uncomplainingly back to their dreary "woman's work"?

WOMEN MUST FIGHT

I, for one, think not. Absolutely not. The women must fight back, and fight back hard against this tide which threatens to destroy even the few paltry gains they have made. And they must fight harder still to bring the day when women can work side by side, as free human beings, with their husbands and brothers. And I don't mean the word fight poetically; I mean practically. For even the woman already cooped up in her home, a prisoner to her dustmop, can help in this all important battle. How? Well, for a beginning by writing into the newspapers and answering every letter which complains about married women working, with the battle cry: "What do you mean, women shouldn't work? Why not? We have as much brains, as much training—find us jobs! We want to work!" Be a propagandist for the rights of women from your own kitchen table! Write to every women's magazine you read and ask for realistic stories, recipes for the working woman, and so on. And train your children—not just your daughter, but your son, too—to understand that women are human beings.

The woman who works now can save her job by joining the union of her craft or industry. This is no time to be timid, to be afraid of offending the boss. Don't forget that your boss is constantly reading articles urging him to send you back to *Kinder, Kueche,* and *Kirche.* The union is the one organization which will demand equal pay for equal work and get promises of job security.

And finally, in politics. I am frankly an avowed Red. But I urge you to consider the Communist Party as a means of expressing yourself politically, not only because of my admitted bias, but because it is the only organization I honestly know in this country which energetically, consistently, and as a matter of principle, fights for the complete —and I mean complete—emancipation of women. Neither the Republican nor Democratic parties gives two pins about the fate of women. The major parties are even chary of lip-service, and lip-service is cold comfort after the elections are over. And most of the existing women's organizations are either dismal little playgrounds for the bored leisure classes, or adjuncts to local and national machine politics.

But the Communist Party (and don't believe any of the wild bogey-man tales spread about this organization, they just aren't true) practices what it preaches. I don't mean that the Communist Party is perfect, and that you won't find some hard-bitten men inside its ranks who ignore women's work. But generally, in ninety cases out of a hundred, the Communist Party urges women to take important positions in its movement; Communists fight for the rights of women in industry; and they work for the time when socialism will set women free.

Sometimes, when I think about being a woman in America today, I have a sort of day dream. Think of how great and strong and beautiful 65,000,000 American men have made this land; and now suppose that the energies, the skill, the brains, the hearts, the courage of 65,000,000 women were added to the labor power of our country. What a world we women could build, side by side with our men, if we only had the chance!

And I believe we can make that chance for ourselves, or at least for our daughters. Forward!

RUTH MCKENNEY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brazil's Master Demagogue: Dr. Vargas

FDR invited him to the White House. But the wily Brazilian politician is stalling for time. What's happening in the country of 47,000,000 where 30,000,000 are slowly starving.

On November 11 President Roosevelt extended an invitation to Getulio Vargas, dictator of Brazil, to visit at the White House. The following day Vargas replied. He accepted the invitation, stating, however, that he would not be able to come to Washington for several months.

The wily Getulio is undoubtedly playing for time. He is waiting, as he invariably does, to see which way the bird is going to hop, just as he did in the case of the Green Shirt *Integralistas,* or native Brazilian fascists, some years ago. Let no one make any mistake about it: when it comes to politics, national or international, Boss Flynn of the Bronx has nothing whatsoever on this hometown boy from the Rio Grande do Sul who came up to Rio and made good, and who, as his doting biographer* puts it, "knows how to guard with the sword the sanctity of the ballot-box." It might be a good idea if FDR were to have his Bronx brain-truster down for the week-end, when Vargas comes.

Harmony, indeed, ought to reign around the dinner-board that evening. The defense of democracy in the Western Hemisphere should be greatly advanced, as "Doctor Vargas"—he adores being called that—gives utterance to a few of those stupendous platitudes of his, which he has stolen outright from his hero, Mussolini, but which are none the less faithfully chronicled, word by word, as they drop from his Orphic lips. Can't you just hear the White House rafters ring, as the distinguished guest inveighs against "the ineptitude of parliaments," the "decrepit forms of parliamentary law," the "democratic incapacity" of the masses, the "amorphous entity" which is the liberal state, etc., etc. As his authorized biographer (needless to say, there could be no other kind) puts it, Doctor Vargas "detests the idolatry of certain abstract expressions—People, Liberty, Democracy." Indeed, if Mr. Hull and Mr. Wallace, not to speak of Mr. Ickes, are present, they may cough discreetly at this point. But Sumner Welles is sure to love it.

As for Franklin D. Roosevelt, he ought to prick up his ears at this:

"In the period through which we are now passing, only peoples hardened in struggle *and strengthened with a spirit of sacrifice* can be capable of facing and overcoming the hardships which confront them."

SEIZED FULL POWER

That was what Vargas told the Brazilian seamen on "Navy Day," last June 11. Maybe covers should also be laid for Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Mr. Jack Kelly of Philadelphia, and our old friend, William Green. They would all agree that we are too "soft," and must learn to "sacrifice." They should be delighted as they hear Dr. Vargas condemn "the vague rhetorical humanitarianism which claims to eliminate frontiers and to create an international society . . . united and brotherly, enjoying peace as a natural good, and not as a day to day conquest." Such talk as this—of peace and international brotherhood—is the result of "improvident liberalisms, of sterile demagogies, of *useless personalities and breeders of disorder.*"

Well, one thing can be said for Getulio: he knows how to get rid of the "useless personalities," by which he means all those indomitable Brazilian patriots who, ever since he seized full dictatorial power five years ago (he had set up a virtual military dictatorship in 1930), have been risking their lives and fortunes in a fiercely determined effort to restore constitutional government in their country. At the White House board, the evening "Dr." Vargas comes, there will lurk the grisly shadow of an unbidden guest: Luiz Carlos Prestes, Brazil's "Knight of Hope," idol of the Brazilian people, embodiment of all their longings and aspirations, of everything that is truly democratic in their national life. For five years now, an eternity of torture, Prestes has lain in a fascist dungeon somewhere in Brazil. As these lines are written, word comes that without trial by jury or the right to defend himself, he has been sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment. What his fate will be, who knows?

There are some things we do know. They have leaked out through the charges made public by former Sen. Abel Chermont and others in a position to know. We know something of the tortures which were inflicted, not only on Prestes but upon his wife, and upon the wife of Arthur Ewert (former Reichstag deputy) as well as her husband. We know how the women's breasts were twisted by the police of "Dr." Vargas, in the effort to extort a confession from them, how Prestes' newborn child was torn from its mother while she, because she happened to be German-born, along with Mrs. Ewert was brutally dragged aboard a ship bound for Nazi Germany and almost certain death. We know that an American boy, Victor Barron, (Harrison George's son) was murdered by the same police.

According to the eloquent and magniloquent Dr. Vargas, these were all "useless personalities . . . breeders of disorder." If this is true, then the same applies to the outstanding leaders of Brazil's political, social, and economic life at the time Vargas made himself dictator. No, he cannot get out of it so easily. The widespread popular uprising of November 1935 which led to Prestes' imprisonment, is glossed over by the official biographer in a couple of very embarrassed pages. "Moscow," as usual, was at the bottom of it all. Perhaps, then, the learned Dr. Vargas or his Boswell can explain why it is that the jails of Rio de Janeiro and other cities were filled to overflowing with senators, university professors, newspaper editors, well known writers and professional men, society matrons, and even one cabinet member and one railway president! Rather extensive ramifications, one would say, for a "Moscow plot."

POSED AS LIBERAL

But suppose we see what really happened. The curious thing is that Vargas and his political side-kick, Oswaldo Aranha, later to become ambassador to Washington, only a few years before had themselves been dubbed "Moscow agents." At that time they were trying to oust the reactionary Washington Luiz from the Brazilian presidency. In order to win the support of the people, Vargas was compelled to pose as a "liberal." As his biographer, in fascist jargon, puts it, he now came out as a "non-party or anti-ideological democrat." His political machine was known as the "Liberal Alliance," but there were those who maliciously termed it the "Holy Alliance." Defeated at the polls, Vargas proceeded to stage a three-weeks' "revolution" from his native state, the Rio Grande do Sul. He deposed the incumbent, Washington Luiz, and declaring that "the juridical order must fortify the economic order," he set up a semi-fascist regime.

In his 1930 election campaign Vargas had the support of Prestes, a young army officer with an inborn passion for democracy. As far back as 1926 Prestes had won the adoration of the Brazilian masses: he was the leader of a famous military "column" which had shattered all precedent by refusing to shoot down striking workers. Ideologically not so developed then as he later became, Prestes either took Vargas' promises at their face value, or else accepted him as the lesser evil. Prestes soon discovered, however, that a worse tyrant than the one deposed had been set up: witness Vargas' unprincipled seizure of power. He took the lead in 1935 of the great nation-wide Popular Front movement that crystallized around the National Liberation Alliance, a movement whose immediate objectives were the overthrow of the Vargas regime.

The upshot of it all was a revolt of a good part of the army in the fall of 1935, which extended from the Rio Grande do Norte and Pernambuco to the garrison at Rio de Janeiro. It was only by the skin of his teeth that Vargas was able to save himself. As for Prestes, he became a hunted man. He was captured and thrown in prison.

Yes, there will be a shadow, an unbidden guest, at that White House dinner table.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Boss Flynn's successful candidate and the bloody-handed dictator from Rio, who has made a life-long habit of overthrowing elections by force of arms will meet to discuss the "defense of democracy" in this our Western World. Perhaps FDR will tell his visitor about the beauties of the "New Deal"; the hounding of minority parties off the ballot and the imprisonment of petition circulators; the jailing of labor leaders under the Anti-Trust laws; the awarding of defense contracts to scab firms and the blocking of legislation to prevent this in Congress; the drive to outlaw strikes and smash the labor unions in the name of "defense" and "sacrifice" and "national unity." Dr. Vargas should be delighted, should even be able to pick up a pointer or two.

"NEW DEAL"

All this talk of a "New Deal" ought to have a familiar ring for the guest from Rio. He has a "New Deal" of his own. In fact, like President Roosevelt, he has had a couple of them: one while campaigning for election, the other after he had entrenched himself in power, with the backing of big business. Down Rio way they call it the *"Estado Novo,"* or "New State." It works out beautifully, too. The rich get richer and the poor poorer, The "Marxist demagogy of the class struggle" has been stamped out, and in place of it there is a "collaboration of all classes" in the form of fascist corporations, Mussolini model. (That's the way they say "national unity" down there.) Not that Dr. Vargas has any hard and fast program to which he is committed. He doesn't believe in that sort of thing. Like Hitler and Mussolini, he is a "political realist," which means he'll go whichever way he thinks the going is best. His chief concern is preserving what he calls "the economic balance of the nation." The way this works is indicated in a report of his own Minister of Public Health, Belisario Penna:

> Thirty million human beings without any earthly possessions are dying slowly in Brazil from hunger, syphilis and malarial diseases.

Since the population of Brazil (though its area is larger than that of the United States) is only about 47,000,000, this would appear to be quite a "balance"—more than three-fifths, or three out of every five, dying of hunger and disease. But at least there's no "demagogy of the class struggle." That's one consolation for the British and American stockholders who hold a monopoly of the railroads, saltpeter mines, sugar factories, and rubber plantations in half a dozen provinces.

It's all really very simple, once you get the Vargas formula. The biographer gives it to us with the utmost economy of words: "His policy: the shortest distance between two points is the cunning suppression (*cautelosa supressao)* of all obstacles." We have seen what happened in the case of one "obstacle," Luiz Carlos Prestes.

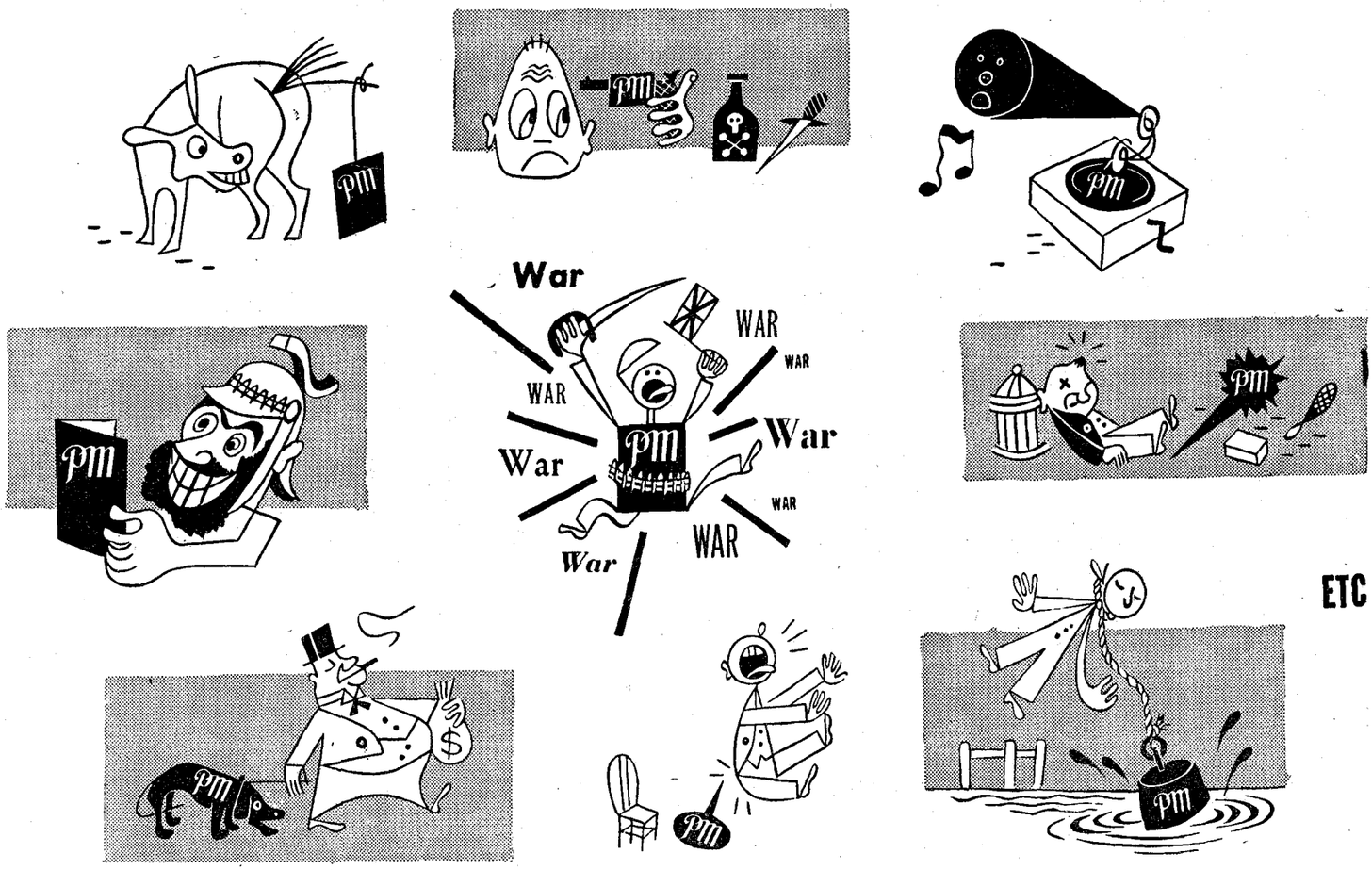
"Following the November insurrection," the biographer continues, "he legally armed the State. After that he was in a position to speak softly, for the reason that, as old Theodore Roosevelt used to say, he carried a big stick."

This last prompts us to suggest that it might be well to include Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Jackson among the dinner guests that evening. It might also be well to invite an intellectual like Mr. Lewis Mumford, as a second to Mr. MacLeish in discussing the "economy of sacrifice." Meanwhile, one can just see the First Lady as she sits back and beams over it all. No "softness," no Youth Congresses with their "claptrap" down in Brazil! "The shortest distance between two points—" And so she will go on beaming at the man who tortured—and tortures—helpless women! After all, isn't he going to help us make the Western Hemisphere, and maybe the world, safe for democracy?

That ought to hand a good laugh to the 30,000,000 starving Brazilians and the 52,000,000 hungry Americans. Some day they might get together and really take democracy in this hemisphere seriously.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

*Andre Carrazzoni: *Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Jose Olympio, 1939.* The quotations attributed to Vargas in this article are taken from this volume, or from Vargas' published speeches. The writer of the article must be held responsible for the rendering from the Portuguese.



Editor's Note—NM's staff artist's suggestions to PM's Christmas subscription drive.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Coudert School for Slander

Say "Free, democratic education," and Senator Coudert reaches for his Grebanier. Pillorying the teachers of New York state. Simon W. Gerson tells what is behind the witch hunt.

MOUNT COUDERT labored and labored —and brought forth a rat. Not one of your wee beasties of the field, mind you, but a rodent *moderne,* Shakespearean by vocation and poltroon by temperament. Grebanier is the name—first name, Bernard. The gentleman testified last week in the New York County Supreme Court building before that august body formally known as the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Educational System.

Of the testimony, more anon. But the technique! None of your vulgar gut-spilling a la Dies committee witnesses. The Grebanier performance had, as the dramatic critics say, restraint, point, counterpoint, the understatement of genius, the controlled passion of the artist attaining new heights. No one in the little square courtroom could but be impressed with the sheer mastery of the work. Here *was* stoolpigeoning! Even tall, patrician-featured, suave, Park Avenue Sen. Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., committee chairman, was a trifle awed. "You have performed a difficult public service," he told Grebanier. The literary van der Lubbe bowed.

Tall, fleshy, dark, Grebanier put a lifetime of Shakespeare into the "difficult public service." Even committee counsel Paul Windels, who had seen the man in private hearings, looked respectful as Grebanier gripped and wrung his hands on the stand, his brow furrowed and his knee jiggling nervously. Occasionally he would glance over at the press table, rarely at Windels (only hams look directly at the camera or audience), but most often he would stare at the floor. He spoke slowly, smiled wryly and sparingly. He was a "recalcitrant" witness, Windels said; "bubbling over with reluctance," a courtroom wag muttered.

GREBANIER'S TESTIMONY

Even in that sharply divided chamber there were no cries of "bravo" or "bis." On the faces of the committee's friends, carefully given the majority of the seats, there was obvious contempt. Among the unionized teachers, first target of the committee, were bitter, incredulous gasps and snickers. Dr. Charles J. Hendley, president of Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, a kindly man in his forties who looks more like an Indiana farmer than a New York school teacher, gazed at the man on the stand, who studiously turned his eyes away. Black-eyed, buxom Bella Dodd, union legislative representative, took notes furiously. Dapper, brilliant young William J. Mulligan, counsel to the union, looked coldly at the witness.

Outside the tiny committee room, a long line of teachers patiently waiting to enter stirred restlessly as reports of the testimony filtered back. Inside, Windels, former Corporation Counsel of the City of New York and a power in Republican circles, a tall, stocky man, with thinning graying hair atop a strong head, leaned easily against the jury box as he read off his questions to Grebanier. Counsel's steel-rimmed glasses were pushed up on his forehead and his great prow-like nose quivered with anticipation. Had Grebanier been a member of the Communist Party? Yes, the witness coyly replied, although he had denied it to Hearst's *Journal-American* only as recently as January 1940. And had there been others in the Communist Party at Brooklyn College? Yes, the witness replied, a bit more slowly and with just the right touch of reluctance. What were their names? Grebanier, who had already testified privately, smiled wanly.

"Well, Mr. Windels, since you have the information, I'd rather you didn't ask," was the answer. But Mr. Windels, who wanted it on the public record for the newspaper front pages, was insistent. The professor surrendered . . . but gracefully.

Grebanier told all, that is, he charged that there were eight Communists among the faculty members of Brooklyn College and about a hundred Communists in the New York college system. And this was the dramatic high point of an investigation for which the taxpayers of New York State appropriated $30,000 early this year and for which another large sum, probably $40,000, will be sought at the next session of the legislature. Frivolous, you may say, but persons familiar with the New York school system say otherwise. The situation, they point out and adduce evidence to prove, is replete with dangers for free democratic education.

Dr. Hendley, speaking in a slow drawl, put it very bluntly to the committee:

> We flatly refuse to join this hue and cry against Communism. You liquidate the Communists and then turn on the next progressive group. That's what happened in Germany. They'll turn to the most conservative unions next. I protest against this attempt to exploit popular prejudice against Communism to the disadvantage of the Teachers Union.

The courtroom was hushed as Hendley continued, his face hardening:

> The testimony you have seen fit to receive at this hearing bristles with falsehood and bias. Its purposes are two, and they are plain. The immediate purpose is to procure for you a further appropriation and extension of your life from the state legislature, aided as you hope by the sinister forces that brought this inquiry into being. The ultimate purpose is to lay the groundwork for oppressive legislation which will end academic freedom and strafe all of American labor.

Senator Coudert pinched his aristocratic, aquiline nose impatiently. The up-state senators stared at the witness belligerently. Windels slumped in his chair. Dammit, when would the man get through? Finally, Hendley closed and Coudert managed a feeble show of urbanity. "Thank you, Dr. Hendley."

The union president's testimony was virtually the sole opportunity the organized teachers had to present their point of view at the public hearings. Coudert-Windels methods have even improved on the star chamber technique of the Dies committee. Witnesses have been called before Coudert or one or another of the high-priced legal battery of the committee and asked to testify without benefit of counsel or copies of the transcript. On the first day of the public hearings, union attorney Mulligan, a former assistant corporation counsel of New York and long an associate of Judge Samuel Seabury, was ejected by four brawny cops when he sought to assist his clients.

IMPLICIT THREAT

Despite a pious preliminary statement by Windels that he would rigorously exclude from testimony anything except evidence permissible in a court of law, everything except the proverbial kitchen sink has been tossed into the record. In one day, by actual count more than a dozen exhibits were placed in the record by Windels and his staff including two eight-year-old articles in the *Daily Worker* on the formation of the International Workers Order, a fraternal society; articles on May Day in the New York *Teacher,* Local 5 organ; an advertisement in the same paper for an exhibit of the American-Russian Institute; minutes of the inner-union trial seven years ago of teacher Isidore Begun, now a well-known Communist leader; student peace strike leaflets, and even a colloquy between a committee attorney and Dr. Hendley on sex education.

Far from following the laws of evidence, the committee has permitted surmise, guess, estimate, and hearsay. At one point in Professor Grebanier's performance, even Democratic Assemblyman Irwin Steingut of Brooklyn was forced to interject: "Do you 'guess' this or do you know it?" But the most sinister aspect of the committee's legal maneuvers is its attempt to obtain the union's membership rolls, a demand stoutly resisted by the union officers. At the present writing a contempt action against Dr. Hendley is being fought through the courts. The threat to the entire labor movement implicit in the power of a legislative committee to subpena whole union membership lists is recognized in the trade unions, and Local 5 and College Teachers Local 537 are receiving ever-widening sup-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

port in their resistance to the Coudert-Windels ukase. The union is also fighting the contempt proceedings instituted against twenty-five of its members for their refusal to testify in secret sessions without counsel.

Of a piece with the methods of the committee are its witnesses. Its prize was, of course, Grebanier, but the rest lived up to the promise of one courtroom observer who, seeing a pet witness about to take the stand, whispered: "Slime marches on!" Typical was Ralph De Sola, characterized by Dr. Hendley as "a professional witness." De Sola, who testified before the Dies and Woodrum committees, and is neither a teacher nor a union member, related glibly how he had once been a member of the Communist Party and had helped to "indoctrinate" children. In the course of his work, he said, he had attended lectures at the Workers School given by a man whom he alleged to be a City College teacher. What connection all this has with the Teachers Union, state educational fiscal practice, or subversive activities in the school system, observers are still trying to fathom.

Another star witness for the committee, used thus far in camera, was philosphy Prof. Edward I. Fenlon of Brooklyn College, who makes no bones about his fascist views. On March 4, 1939, he wrote an impassioned defense of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in the *Brooklyn Tablet,* an anti-Semitic, pro-Coughlin weekly which carries the imprimatur of Brooklyn's Bishop Molloy:

> Who is authority among us to say that Franco is a fascist? Franco denies that he is a fascist. And even so, would that necessarily make him or his cause vicious? Who can ascribe any fixed sense of offensive principles to fascist philosophy? Is not fascism as flexible as monarchism might be, or as "democracy" might be?

Speaking before a Holy Name Society on Jan. 20, 1940, Fenlon attacked democracy as "a mere rebellious, anarchistic, paganistic shibboleth."

But neither the witnesses nor the committee's methods explain fully this new attempt to lynch free democratic education in the Empire State. For explanation it is necessary to glance back briefly at the events leading up to the formation of the committee. Creation of the group by the state legislature in February 1940 climaxed a long struggle between the friends of public education, headed in the first instance by the organized labor movement and, above all, by the American Federation of Teachers, and the foes of democratic schooling, the leaders of which are the State Economic Council and the State Chamber of Commerce. The former organization is led by the avowed pro-Franco Merwin K. Hart.

The major purpose of the committee, whose chairman is Republican State Sen. Herbert Rapp of Genesee County, is, according to the legislature's resolution, to investigate "procedure and methods employed to allocate state moneys for school and other educational purposes and the expenditure of the moneys so allotted" and, among other things, "the financial ability of the state to support education." A subordinate purpose of the committee was to inquire into "the extent to which, if any, subversive activities may have been permitted to be carried on in the schools and colleges of such (New York City's) educational system." Senator Coudert, president of the silk-stocking Fifteenth Assembly District Republican Club, was named chairman of the subcommittee to probe the city's schools.

Struggle over state aid to education is virtually a standard feature of New York political life. Won in principle only after decades of bitter battle, state aid has been the chief issue between the forces of democratic public education and the budget-cutters. Increasingly fierce of late years with the ascendancy of the economy bloc in the state legislature, the struggle received a new and ugly twist recently when the cry of "subversive!" was raised. A new unholy alliance has been created between the budget-cutters, the brass-hat leaders of the American Legion, the Hearst press, and the Coughlin-influenced wing of the Catholic hierarchy.

REPRESENT REALTY INTERESTS

Rapp and the up-state legislators represent on the whole those large realty interests seeking primarily a cut in the state budget and tax reduction. Their chief immediate objective, besides prolonging the life of the committee, is to slash state aid to education by about $12,000,000 and whittle annually from there until they achieve the fascist desideratum of the State Chamber of Commerce—public education of children only to the point of literacy. For years the budget-cutters were unable to make serious headway because of the relative degree of unity of the forces supporting free democratic education. It was only in the last year or two, when sections of the progressives wavered or went over to the economy bloc and the war-mongers, that the reactionaries saw their chance.

In the educational field this surrender was symbolized most clearly by the abject capitulation of Mayor LaGuardia in the Bertrand Russell case to the demand of reaction that the English philosopher's appointment to a City College professorship be rescinded. It will be recalled that over the vigorous objection of his own Board of Higher Education, the mayor struck Russell's salary out of the budget and otherwise assisted the anti-democratic forces in their fight on Russell. Significantly enough, it was immediately after the Russell case that the Rapp-Coudert committee was formed by the legislature.

One element in the situation discussed only in discreet whispers by public officials is the part played in the Rapp-Coudert heresy hunt by the Catholic hierarchy, particularly that section most infected with Coughlin's fascist, anti-Semitic views. In this connection the appointment of Coudert to head the sub-committee investigating New York City schools is less than accidental. The scion of a wealthy Park Avenue French Catholic family, Coudert is a name familiar to both the princes of his own church and temporal royalty. His father's law firm, of which he is a member, is an international power, having represented at various times the French government, the czarist court, and the English king. At present they are said to be close to representatives of the Vichy regime. Coudert's attitude on the basic American doctrine of separation of Church and State, a "shibboleth" despised in certain ecclesiastical circles, can be best seen by his sponsorship of the Coudert-McLaughlin bill, now law, giving time off to school children for religious education, a measure widely attacked by educators and parents as violative of American constitutional principles and aggravating existing religious differences.

In certain liberal Catholic circles the Rapp-Coudert inquiry is causing considerable troubled discussion. It is an open secret to thoughtful Catholics that some of their leaders are seeking the limitation of free public education and are assailing the city colleges as the first objective of this campaign. Among progressive Catholics there is a genuine concern lest the Rapp-Coudert inquiry exacerbate religious questions long settled by American constitutional tradition and popular practice.

Public reaction to the Coudert committee antics has not been what the group and its backers have hoped. At Brooklyn College the students, overwhelmingly non-Communist, are deeply resentful of the unfavorable publicity given their alma mater and showed their attitude by welcoming Grebanier on the morning after his testimony with signs: "Greetings, Informer!" Professors denounced by Grebanier were given ovations in their classes. Mass meetings of students and faculty members were held at the college and the *Vanguard,* college newspaper, denounced the Coudert committee.

The presidents of Queens and City College have refused to join the witch hunt with their colleague Harry Gideonse of Brooklyn College. Public protest meetings are being held all over the city. Even the New York *Times,* quick to see a foolish excess on the part of one of its pet committees—only the better to sharpen the committee's teeth, my dear—editorially agreed that the possibility that 100 members of the Teachers Union attended a Communist meeting "convicts the Teachers Union of nothing."

While the struggle against the committee and its plans mounts, the danger to free public education is still more acute than at any other time in the history of the state. The labor movement, which through the Mechanics Party and the Workingman's Party of the first quarter of the nineteenth century fought for free public schools, will undoubtedly give battle again. But it will need the help of an aroused people. Unquestionably the 1941 session of the state legislature, opening after New Year's Day, will see a flood of bills in the Albany hopper aimed at the school system.

The net effect of all this will be to set democratic education back decades. The SOS flag is up. The slogan of the day must be: Save Our Schools.

SIMON W. GERSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Gold Bricks for Ohio

The Buckeye state's ordinary citizens are anxious over the prospect of graves for labor and gravy for the big boys.

Toledo.

OHIO firms report a bumper dividend crop. Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass has just decreed another melon-cut, the fourth this year. Overland Motors is elating over a sudden manna of war orders. Steel mills belch fiery smoke. Cleveland port authorities announce record shipments of coal over the lakes. The familiar stage devices of returning prosperity are in motion.

The upward-looking mood of the manufacturers of lethal goods also has its aspect of culture. Not only profits but prophecies enjoy current popularity; anything from Lord Marley and H. G. Wells down to astrologers and rabbit's-foot peddlers. All the best people show a militant interest in the future of democracy—of British democracy of the Lady Astor-Winston Churchill type, that is. Pulpit, movies, the megaphonic spokesmen of the community join in a resounding whoop for the Downing Street side whose top hats suddenly appear to have become valiant symbols for a "brave new world" in the making. One wonders whether the gentlemen in Downing Street know anything about this as yet. It's a good line.

CONTRADICTORY NOTIONS

And the sense of America's own majestic destiny is being brought subtly to the fore. Milo J. Warner of Toledo, National Commander of the American Legion, assured listeners the other day that America's destiny "is necessarily bound to sweep us beyond the actual boundaries of our own continental United States." That day Cornelius Vanderbilt was reported having warned Rotarians that an invasion of our shores by Hitler is imminent, and that the ultimate safety-deposit vault of world democracy is not as safe as commonly presumed. One might take one's cue from either of these characteristically contradictory notions. It is thought unpatriotic, however, to express one's loyalty to America first. Such provincial patriotism is now considered old-fashioned and no longer in vogue among the social betters.

However, lofty politics concerns thousands of job-hunting Ohioans far less than a prevailing lack of work. The newspaper stories about jobs turn out to be false. At Cincinnati an estimated 4,128 persons stood in line for hours applying for work at the new $37,000,000 plant the Wright Aeronautical Corp. is building at nearby Lockland. Needless to say, few got what they wanted.

The Ohio State Employment Service has warned job-seekers not to leave their homes to look for work in defense industry. Such effort is described "a fruitless migration with disappointment at the employment gate." State welfare authorities foresee a 1941 relief load only slightly below that carried at present. This hardly combines into a charmed prospect for the ordinary men and women of Ohio.

I visited one of Toledo's numerous shanty towns the other day and talked with some of the residents there. Many are denied city relief because they have no regular city residence. They were unable to maintain such residence after loss of jobs because the city would give them no relief. I found "aliens" without their second citizenship papers (no money) eking a scant livelihood from piles of city-flung rubbish.

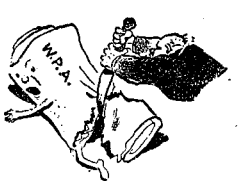
One of the rubbish-scavengers informed me he had worked fourteen years for the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass before he met with an accident, was ruptured, and having failed to report the matter within the required time limit, found himself eventually out of work and health. His years of service in the corporation entitle him to no bite of the seasonal dividend melon.

Talking with these men I could see no light of anticipation in their eyes. War contracts obviously would mean no change in their condition. Medical men recently condemned the places in which they live as a menace to public health. But nothing seems likely to be done. The Toledo *Blade* remarked recently on how these junk-pickers had manifested "Yankee self-reliance" in building decrepit, vile-smelling colonies. Although these men continue to breathe, they are, in a civic sense, regarded as dead. No one worries about their fate.

Meanwhile, applicants report that relief authorities are becoming increasingly "tough-minded." No more of your cheap, blubbery sentimentalism over a mere starveling who barges in for aid! A better trick nowadays is to land him a metaphoric kick in the belly and teach him what real Yankee pluck and gumption is—or might be. As a result, every city today is able to show a statistical drop in its former relief load. These figures bear no actual relation, unfortunately, to the reality.

Overcrowded flop houses, shanty colonies fringing the garbage dumps of every industrial town, unemployed trailing every rumor of a job, a WPA operating on a greatly reduced scale compared to previous years, inadequate relief, piddling old-age pensions—such are the pigments that color the scene for the average Ohioan.

The draft is generally unpopular. Even newspapers have not attempted to falsify public sentiment too much. Organized labor fought the measure to a bitter finish, and most of Ohio's spokesmen in the nation's capital did not risk giving it their outright approval. Bernarr Macfadden's super-Americanism crusade attracted a sparse few hundred curious persons to the immense auditorium engaged for an anticipated audience of thousands. A concert by a marine corps band had to be called off for lack of listeners. A sudden visit by Representative Dies, who chilled the backs of dining Rotarians with tales of subversive bogeymen, left the public cold.



These choristers and champions of democracy impress the Ohioan as a trifle too well dressed, too well fed, and too obese of phrase and opinion. The type recalls the finance shark who sells the ground from under a farmer's feet, the fat boy who worries about dividends and is known not to give a hang about what is happening to the men and women of his own community. It has become difficult for the average citizen to associate so much professional sleekness and obvious devotion to the god of profits with vaunted readiness to "sacrifice." Some one, believes this average citizen, is trying to sell him another gold brick.

In the recent election Toledo labor succeeded in sending one of its own members to the state legislature. From other areas progressives announced minor gains. The press throughout Ohio was preponderantly pro-Willkie. However, Roosevelt's benevolence since his re-election has been most reassuring. Meaty defense contracts continue to drop from Washington skies upon non-union employers. Profits are winging into the higher altitudes. Brokers sing of happy days. Papers cry for "national unity"—a vague expression implying probably a prospect of foreign graves for labor, of domestic gravy for profiteers.

THIRD PARTY PROSPECTS

The prospect of a third party—a farmer-labor party—is more and more coming to haunt the inner councils of the old-line teams. The public was outspokenly cynical in the recent elections, resentful of the cheap trickery used to keep minority parties from running. And there is a sneaking suspicion that Roosevelt may try the now familiar Wilsonian trick of bamboozling the country into another unwanted war. The current attitude might best be described as one of wait-and-see.

Meanwhile, employment experts give no encouragement to the belief that defense work will take up the slack of unemployment. The relief crisis goes from bad to worse. Realtors foresee a boom—for landlords. Prices are climbing. A haunting sense of insecurity permeates community life.

The state seethes with leagues, associations, clubs, societies demanding adequate pensions, better relief standards, jobs, peace. All this might impress a casual observer as an upsurge of emotional unrest dissipating itself in futile talk. It is rather the beginning stages of a swelling movement of social unrest assuming diverse shapes, forms, vocabularies, all born of protest against the degradation imposed on human beings by a ruthless economic machine.

ED FALKOWSKI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH.

Associate Editor
BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL.

★

Index of Disaster

THE New York *Times* index of business activity reached an all-time high for the week ending November 23. The Federal Reserve Board index of production for October was 128, also a record peak. Yet today there are still some 9,000,000 unemployed, compared to only about 1,500,000 in 1929 when the previous record levels were attained. Despite rosy predictions by New Deal soothsayers, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that, including those who are conscripted into the army, the number of unemployed will be reduced by July 1 by only about 2,500,000. This persistent exclusion of millions from productive labor is one of the most important evidences of the inability of capitalism to remove the cancer of crisis even through the perilous surgery of war.

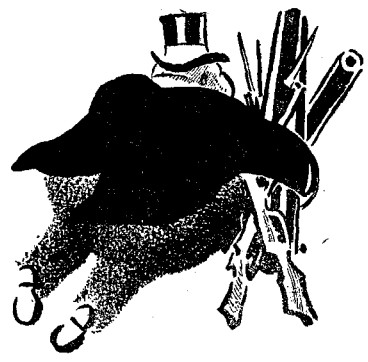
The developing war boom itself is a deformed creature. The December issue of Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes* publishes significant figures comparing production of durable goods, in which the war industries are concentrated, with the output of nondurable goods, which represent for the most part articles of consumption. They are worth reprinting.

	First 9 Months 1939	*1940*	*Percent Change*
MANUFACTURES (total)	102.6	118.6	+15.6
Durable goods	98.9	128.2	+29.6
Iron and steel	98.0	135.6	+38.3
Machinery	97.8	129.4	+32.3
Transportation equipment	94.5	119.5	+26.4
Nonferrous metals and products	101.0	138.0	+36.6
Lumber and products ...	102.8	112.9	+ 9.9
Nondurable goods	105.7	110.7	+ 4.7
Textiles and products ..	108.2	109.1	+ 0.8
Leather and products ...	103.2	93.8	— 9.1
Manufactured food products	107.0	111.8	+ 4.5
Tobacco products	105.1	107.2	+ 2.0
Petroleum and coal products	106.8	115.0	+ 7.7
Rubber products	109.1	115.0	+ 5.4

These figures show the artificial nature of the present boom. Though millions lack the necessaries of life, the production of the things they need has increased only slightly. For the Roosevelt administration *vox populi* has been distorted to become *vox belli*. In the industrial recovery of 1936-37 it was the consumers' goods industries which expanded as a result of government spending for social purposes; the crisis of capitalist economy was reflected in the failure of the durable goods industries to revive. In the present boom, on the other hand, the situation has been reversed as a result of expenditures by the British and American governments for anti-social purposes. And the disparity between durable and non-durable goods production not only helps pave the way for future collapse, but contains serious immediate dangers for the masses of the people. As war production expands still further and the administration moves deeper into the European conflict, it is probable that measures will be adopted to bring about an absolute decline in the production of civilian goods, as has been the case in Germany, Italy, and England, thereby forcing a deterioration in living standards. The struggle for peace thus becomes a fight for the bread-and-butter needs of the vast majority of the American people.

Labor Strikes Back

A KNOTTY problem weighs upon the lords of creation. If "national defense" is to screen drastic revision of progressive legislation and to succeed in squeezing more profits out of the people, how on earth is the opposition of organized workers to be overcome? Several schemes are being hatched. Mr. Hillman is, of course, busy obtaining pledges from complacent labor leaders that workers will do nothing about their grievances "until every conciliation effort has been employed." Poll-tax Representative Smith of Virginia has actually submitted a bill making mandatory the postponement of strike action for thirty days, conciliation thereafter being compulsory. The military establishment chimes in with a hint from Rear Admiral Ray Spear, who reports that steel, iron, and other manufacturers will not end their strike against signing production contracts unless the Walsh-Healey and Wage-Hour acts are repealed. The National Association of Manufacturers wants amendments to the Wagner act and the Wage-Hour Act. The Department of Justice is advising state legislators how to circumvent national opposition to anti-labor moves by drafting "model sabotage prevention bills" and "model state guard bills," which are so loosely drawn as to permit the use of armed forces and the infliction of extreme penalties on strikers. Secretary of War Stimson has named Edward F. McGrady, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and now vice-president of the Radio Corp. of America, to help the brass-hats cram "conciliation" down the throats of intractable workers; Mr. McGrady is the apple of the *Wall Street Journal's* eye. And FDR has quietly signed the so-called anti-sabotage bill for a home guard which John L. Lewis so vigorously attacked. All this is part of the pattern to chain labor to a no-strike policy. Its inspiration is the Hitler Labor Front.



But the drive against strikes is meeting with fierce resistance. CIO bodies in Chicago, Detroit, Duquesne, Boston, New York, Milwaukee—wherever basic industries are organized—are wide awake to the danger. They are plunging into a swift organizing campaign, winning substantial victories as they go on record against administration moves. The Ford organizing drive is proceeding apace, and the UAW has won a victory by a court order banning an anti-leaflet ordinance in Ford-dominated Dearborn. And wage and hour standards have also been improved during the past week, either by strike or negotiation, for Rhode Island dyers, New Jersey die casters, chemical workers in Jersey City and Joliet, eastern coastwise seamen, iron workers in Alabama, textile workers in Louisville, cigar clerks, painters, electricians in New York City. From California comes news of a victory for 15,000 longshoremen, and of gains by steel, meat packing, rubber, drug, oil, lumber, chemical, dried fruit and nut packing, construction, sportswear, laundry, dry cleaning, hosiery, and furniture workers. Mr. Hillman's own union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is being pushed by its rank and file into a demand for wage boosts in the production of uniforms. The Vultee victory has sent aircraft organization into high gear in San Diego, Los Angeles, Buffalo, and other centers. The workers are making their position known and their strength felt at many points along the broad front of industrial struggle.

California Frameup

THE state that kept Tom Mooney in jail for twenty-two years now threatens to imprison another innocent man. Samuel Adams Darcy is the intended victim. Mr. Darcy, as NEW MASSES readers will recall, was recently extradited from Pennsylvania to California, to face trial on charges of "fraud" in his 1934 registration as a voter—because his birthplace was incorrectly listed as New York instead of the Ukraine. Nobody bothered about the error until last year when Darcy, who had moved to Pennsylvania, became too well known to the war-shouters as a Communist leader and worker for peace. Extradition proceedings were then begun and Darcy was finally fetched back to California, where he is now out on bail pending trial.

The facts in this case are worth reiterating. In the first place, 250,000 irregularities were charged in that 1934 registration; no one besides Darcy has been prosecuted. It is a matter of doubt whether he or the registration clerk was responsible for the incorrect listing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his birthplace. And documents have been photostated and circulated by Darcy's defenders proving that Charles A. Johnson, Republican Party treasurer for California, gave one birthplace when registering in 1930 and another in 1932 (no prosecution). The purely political quality of the "case" against Darcy is further attested by the fact that his arrest was instigated by Ed F. Sullivan, Dies committee witness, pro-Nazi, anti-Semite, and criminal. Last week, when Darcy tried to explain his case publicly, every hall in San Francisco was closed to him. He did speak, however, at a forum of the AFL Culinary Workers Local 110, which is one of the many labor and other progressive groups, both local and national, which are protesting this latest frameup in California. To add your own protest, write or wire Governor Olson of California and Dist. Atty. Matthew A. Brady of San Francisco. Save Sam Darcy from fourteen years' entombment.

War at Ann Arbor

WAR came to the University of Michigan last June and the battles intensify with time. The lines are distinctly drawn: on one side a corporation-dominated Board of Regents typified by Pres. Alexander Ruthven who, on June 18, expelled without explanation thirteen students for engaging in pro-peace, pro-union activities; on the other the American Student Union and a large body of progressives in Michigan and other states. Latest to be expelled ("suspended for one year") is the ASU itself. Its local president, Harold Norris, had sinned against the authorities by repeating in the college daily's "Letter Box" a paragraph from the *Nation* of September 14 which revealed that Regent Harry Kipke had obtained his position with the support of Harry Bennett, head of Henry Ford's Gestapo, and that five other regents are corporation lawyers. For printing this "libel" the editorial director and managing editor of the *Michigan Daily* were suspended for a week and ordered to apologize publicly.

To expel thirteen students in a one-sentence letter and refuse them any sort of hearing was sure to bring a storm of inquiry. It immediately revealed that the dismissed were exemplary students, that their only iniquity was organizing peace rallies, urging University staff members to join the State, County, and Municipal Workers (CIO), and fighting discrimination against Negroes. It was also recalled that President Ruthven, in his commencement address on June 15, had said he didn't want students who indulged in "meaningful but ill-defined phrases such as 'freedom of the press' and 'freedom of speech' . . ." The phrases are meaningful, all right—but thousands of people define them exactly contrary to the lexicon of Ruthven and Ford. That fact is proved by the nationwide rallying around the Michigan Committee for Academic Freedom, headed by Rev. Owen A. Knox, which is leading the battle for the students' reinstatement. It is a vital part of the whole fight now being waged against pro-war terrorism in America's colleges.

Mexico at the Crossroads

MEXICO CITY is an overnight trip from Washington via plane, and the Pan American airlines are prospering these days. Our State Department career men are making the hop regularly, with bulging brief-cases whose contents bode little good for our neighbor south of the Rio Grande. Vice-President-Elect Wallace is the spearhead for as streamlined an imperialist drive as this continent—or the world for that matter—has ever seen. The "Civilize 'em with a Krag" technique of McKinley's day has ceded to the silk-hat procedure of Roosevelt. But the Mexicans know very well that behind the flumdummery of protocol and diplomatic assurances of everlasting love looms hard steel. Really authentic reports from Mexico indicate that nobody has forgotten "Blackjack" Pershing's expedition across the borders in 1916, nor the shelling of Vera Cruz in 1914. *Hoy,* which is Mexico's reactionary weekly, analogous to the *Saturday Evening Post,* discussed the latter two events at great length the very week that Mr. Wallace was making his good-will speeches flanked by such dignitaries as Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, David Dubinsky—to give the pageantry a "labor" flavor—and the business-like Pat Hurley, Hoover's Secretary of War, now an emissary below the Rio Grande for the big oil interests. The American good-will entourage was closely followed, if not accompanied, by big business men. They were out to dissipate, if not to annihilate, all the gains made by the Mexican people during the Cardenas regime.

Big business in the United States has embarked on an imperialist assault upon the entire Western Hemisphere as prelude to its ambitions to gobble the world. Big business understands that Mexico is the key to South America. Wall Street has great ambitions for President Avila Camacho. It hopes that he will play the role that Gerardo Machado did in Cuba. And the pressure applied has been terrific. Camacho has ceded to the extent that his newly chosen Cabinet represents the greatest gains for reaction since the Calles days of the early thirties. Portes Gil, Wall Street apologist and Mexican prototype of our big time corporation lawyers, finds a number of his men ensconced in the Cabinet. Abelardo Rodriguez, said to be the richest man in Mexico, also has his stooge in the leading political body. The reactionary governors of the various Mexican states are fairly well pleased with the Cabinet. There are, however, some representatives of the best elements of the Cardenas administration in the top group and it is too soon to say that Camacho has gone over lock, stock, and barrel to reaction. He has yielded considerable ground, true, but he has not gone all the way. What he will ultimately do depends upon the speed with which the progressive forces of Mexico can recoup their forces, and take the offensive to defend all that has been good in the past six years.

The fuller details of the developments on the Mexican scene will be provided NEW MASSES readers by Joseph North, who has spent the past month in that country. We regret that his first article, which was to have appeared this week, has been delayed due to his illness. It will appear in NEW MASSES next week.

Hemisphere Hijinks

THERE were three items in last week's news that are signs of our unhappy times. Take the loan to Argentina, for example. Ostensibly, the American Treasury is buying Argentine pesos to bolster the currency down there; actually, this loan amounts to an indirect subsidy for Britain, for it will be used mostly to finance a large credit of Argentine food surpluses for the British empire. And a British commission, headed by Lord Willingdon, has been waiting around in Argentina to complete the deal. But there's more to it than that. Once the Argentine capitalists have disposed of their food surpluses, a barrier will have been removed against closer relations with the United States. In the current vernacular, that means the penetration of American capital—at the expense of Britain.

Then there was the decree from Canada, cutting off about $55,000,000 worth of American consumers' goods from Canadian markets. This unilateral action represents a virtual breakdown of Mr. Hull's reciprocal trade agreement. But as the Canadian finance minister explained, it will not affect total trade with this country: it will mean that munitions and airplanes will be purchased at the expense of ordinary articles. Here, then, is a clear example of how the war is converting Canadian-American relations into nothing more than armament dealings. But this doesn't mean that Canadian capitalists will be permitted to produce goods formerly bought in this country. Actually what Canada is trying to do is what Germany did—to prevent people from buying anything except what the government finds essential for war.

The third item comes from Chile, where the Chamber of Deputies last week passed a bill for the outlawing of the Communist Party, a bill which may pass the even more reactionary Senate, though whether President Aguirre Cerda signs it remains to be seen. This bill was passed by some sort of parliamentary maneuver, the exact nature of which is unclear at this writing. However, taken together with the return of the Carlos Davila family to Chile—by the much publicized courtesy of a US Army bomber—it's plain that things reactionary are definitely brewing in Chile. Carlos Davila is one of Chile's most hated men. He's a tool of the Guggenheim interests, and although he may be tending to his bedridden wife, you can be sure that wherever Davila is found, there's something dirty afoot.

The Secret Voyage of Mr. D.

AT TWELVE noon on Friday, December 6, a gentleman by the name of Donald Williams boarded a Pan-American clipper. He was accompanied by two other men. Before long it became known that Donald Williams was none other than Col. William J. Donovan, Republican politician, former professional baseball star, wartime commander of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Fighting Sixty-Ninth," and more recently traveler on secret missions for the Roosevelt administration. At Bermuda the colonel and his two companions transferred to a trans-Atlantic clipper. One of the colonel's friends was a Mr. O'Connell, an attache of the British Embassy; the other was a Frenchman, a Mr. des Graz or Desgarges, rumored to have some connection with Gen. Maxime Weygand.

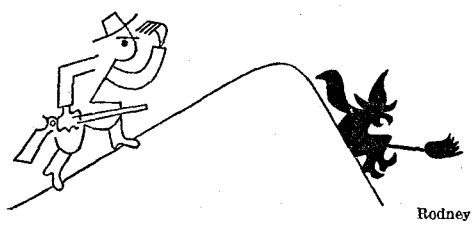
According to the New York *Times*, "State Department officials tacitly confirmed that Colonel Donovan was headed across the Atlantic on another mission, but insisted that the department knew nothing of its purpose." It is a pity that the State Department is being kept in the dark about its own handiwork. For what appears to be a chapter out of an E. Phillips Oppenheim novel is really nothing but a new move in that sordid game of secret imperialist diplomacy which the State Department and the whole Roosevelt administration have for so long been playing behind the backs of the American people.

Colonel Donovan has been reported as planning to visit England, Spain, Greece, and Africa. Last summer he went on a similar secret mission for Secretary of the Navy Knox; this was covered up by having a series of articles ghost-written for Donovan on the subject of German fifth-column methods. But shortly after his return, President Roosevelt announced the destroyers-bases deal with Britain, a fact which is considered by some to be more than coincidence. The colonel's new mission casts a strong light on Roosevelt's solemn pledge in his Philadelphia speech on October 23 that no secret treaties, obligations, or commitments with foreign governments were being undertaken. And whatever the outcome of Donovan's trip, it is the American people that are being taken for a ride.

More on Greece and Italy

THE progress of the Greek armies continues to be one of the real surprises of the war. With the capture of Porto Edda, the Greeks secure a foothold on the Adriatic Sea. And with the fall of Argyrokastron, they are in a position to move northward along the Adriatic coast. Meanwhile reports come from central Albania of a Greek thrust against Elbasan, which is on the highroad to the Albanian capital, Tirana. Such victories embrace only a small section of Albanian soil, but they are doubly important, first, because they provide the basis for deeper advances into Albania, second, because they block the path of any renewed Italian offensive along the Greek border, where Mussolini made his original penetration.

But if the Greek successes are surprising, the revelation of Italian weakness is even more significant. When the leading general, Marshal Badoglio, resigns, followed by the governor of the Dodecanese islands, Cesare de Vecchi, one of the original fascisti, and this is followed by still other resignations in the army and navy, it is obvious that the Italian ruling circles are being torn apart by divided counsels and conflicting ambitions. This crisis is still in its early stages. It is thus far confined to the



ruling class, but it cannot fail to have repercussions among the entire people.

To us, the interesting thing about this development lies in its implications, both for Germany and Britain. Hitler may be angered or amused by Mussolini's fix, but Germany cannot afford an Italian collapse. If the Germans ever intend to grapple with the British empire in the Near East, they still have to pass through either Greece or Turkey. But the events in Greece strengthen Turkey's position, while if Hitler comes to Mussolini's assistance, he can do so only by a further unsettlement of the much-unsettled Balkans. On the other hand, if the fascist regime becomes really unstable, Germany will have to occupy the north Italian plain, and this would represent a further weakening, rather than a strengthening of the total Axis position.

Finally, the question arises: what would Churchill and Roosevelt do with Italy, assuming that they could knock Mussolini out of the war? The logical alternative to fascism is a democratic republic, which under working-class leadership, must lead quickly toward socialism, or else fall backward into fascism again, and a long perspective of wars and chaos. Yet a democratic revolution is precisely what British and American imperialism fear most—for they might not be able to control it, and it might provide a dangerous example for the rest of Europe. Thus, we get a glimpse of the real dilemma which will confront the victor of this war. If Mussolini should begin to slip badly, the true nature of this war will become clear to millions: a struggle in which both sides must avert the victory of democracy in order to maintain the system of imperialism.

Gladhanding Franco

WASHINGTON kept its fingers crossed when the invasion of Greece began. Greek credits in this country were not even "frozen"; but as Italian reverses developed, every imperialist pulsebeat quickened, and many a banker sighed as he loaned his name to still another committee for the salvation of western civilization in eastern Europe. Now that Mussolini's setback is definite, Mr. Roosevelt exchanges felicitations with the Greek monarch, George II. Not a word has been said about the reactionary Metaxas dictatorship, the prisoners whom Metaxas holds in his dungeons. Washington's ardor has waxed in direct proportion to the value of Greece as Britain's first foothold on the continent since the days of Dunkirk.

This is, as our editorials have indicated, only one phase of a general Anglo-American offensive in Europe, in anticipation of a German drive against Gibraltar and Suez by the spring. It was preceded by the dispatch of Admiral Leahy to the Vichy government; General de Gaulle's invitation to various Vichy lieutenants is part of the same process, and so is Colonel Donovan's mission to parts unknown. But the crowning hypocrisy is the way London and Washington are trying to buy off General Franco. Churchill turns his pockets inside out for Jesse Jones, but in Madrid he hands over some £5,000,000 in commercial credits. And although Sumner Welles repeatedly denied it, with his customary talent for tightlipped prevarication, it now becomes known that the State Department is planning a large credit, perhaps one hundred millions for Franco.

Presumably fascist Spain will promise to stay out of the war. Whether it does or not remains to be seen. But the Spanish people expect more of the United States than a diplomacy which makes them pawns in Britain's struggle with Germany. They need food, that is true, but if they could make themselves heard, we think they would insist upon several important conditions before food itself. First, they would demand that the State Department use its weight to force a release of some million prisoners whom Franco has jailed, and compel him to cease the daily murders of republican partisans. Second, the State Department might assist the American Rescue Ship Mission in its campaign to bring Spanish refugees across from France. Third, the food itself ought not be distributed by Franco, but through some impartial body such as the American Friends Service Committee or an international labor commission. This is the least the State Department can do to atone for its miserable share in the defeat of Spanish democracy.

Top-Hat "Democracy"

WHAT is democracy? In the House of Commons the other day an Independent Labor Party motion for a peace conference with Germany was voted down 341 to 4. This debate was seized upon by the American press as "a striking demonstration of the vitality of the democratic processes," to quote the New York *Times*. It is true, of course, that these processes appear to exist. But the character of government in Britain invests the Cabinet with supreme power; the Cabinet rests upon party caucus, and the Conservative Party therefore rules today, despite Labor Party window-dressing. And, as Harold Laski once pointed out (he has now conveniently forgotten it), the permanent government of courts, civil servants, lords, and king, together with the military establishment and the state church, is capable of overruling any decision unsuited to its interests.

But even the Commons itself represents the entrenched power of the propertied classes, as an examination of its composition reveals. It is an upper-class body. The long period of appeasement and war has been marked by no general election since November 1935, when the Tories were returned to power by taking advantage of the people's desire for peace. No referenda have since been taken on any of the critical decisions made by the Cabinet. The war has created new dictatorial powers. In its reorganized form, the Cabinet is really

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controlled by its inner circle of great industrial magnates, Sir Andrew Duncan, Lord Woolton, Lord Lloyd, Lord Beaverbrook, and half a dozen other representatives of the Bank of England and international finance capital. The press, with the single exception of the London *Daily Worker,* prints no opposition news because it is owned by the same personages or their close associates. The Labor Party's *Daily Herald* is also dominated by industrialist Lord Southwood, with Beaverbrook, Rothermere, Lord Camrose, and other Tories sitting over the editors of the other sheets.

Not until a genuine people's government is formed can Britain be called democratic. Such a government would respond to the judgment of the people on all issues. It would break with imperialism and imperialist aims, freeing India and all subject peoples of the empire. It would work for an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist people's peace, while organizing the defense of the people against all enemies, within and without. It is toward this kind of democracy that the People's Convention, which is to meet in Manchester on Jan. 12, 1941, will move.

In passing it is worthy of note that Communist member of Parliament, William Gallacher, voted for the peace motion, explaining that although he emphatically disapproved of the Independent Labor Party's politics and its failure to expose the class character of the war, he wished to record the Communist Party's will for peace and its opposition to the present government.

The Soviet Power

IN A mad world sanity becomes suspect. Hence the clear, rational policy of the Soviet Union is labeled "mystery," "enigma." The oracles and star-gazers of the commercial press find it mysterious that a great power should be genuinely devoted to peace; they see something dark and inscrutable in the fact that where there are no capitalists, there is no one to profit from war. That is why all their speculations about the Soviet Union are so grotesquely wrong. Consider the comments on Molotov's recent trip to Berlin. Weren't we told by the New York *Post* that "a new blow to the democratic cause is now being ceremonialized into formal reality"? And weren't we assured by the editors of the *Nation* that Molotov had been "summoned" to Berlin by Hitler who was making not requests, but demands—demands which the USSR was too weak to resist? Now, several weeks later, the newspapers make the great discovery that it just isn't so. The violently anti-Soviet *Post* is compelled to admit that "it looks as though Bulgaria and Turkey have nerve enough to resist Hitler because Russia is backing them up." And *PM* makes another discovery: that George Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International, is "a hero of the [Bulgarian] workers." All of which truisms NEW MASSES readers know as simple ABC.

Equally unambiguous, a refreshing contrast to American policy, is the Soviet attitude toward China. The brief statement of the Soviet ambassador to Tokyo, Smetanin, that "the policy of the Soviet Union with respect to China remains unchanged" was a model of good protocol and good socialism. It is this consistent policy of generous assistance to the Chinese people that is causing an increasing number of Americans to support the idea of Soviet-American-Chinese collaboration in behalf of peace and democracy in the Far East. Among the latest to raise his voice for this proposal is the famous Arctic explorer, Vilhaljmur Stefansson.

Internally, too, Soviet policy is no mystery. In fact, millions of simple people understand it and glory in its gifts. Thus the Jewish Telegraph Agency, which is by no means sympathetic to the USSR, brings a revealing story out of pogrom-ridden Rumania. The JTA correspondent writes in a dispatch from Budapest on December 4:

> When I was in Bucharest yesterday, thousands of Jews were still streaming toward the borders of neighboring countries, hoping that they would be able to smuggle themselves into safety. The largest number of these are seeking to find their way to the Soviet Bessarabian border. It appears that the Soviet border officials are looking the other way and permitting them to enter.

Food for Europe

THE misery of every people under capitalism is already indescribably intensified in this second year of capitalism's fiercest war. Even where bombs have not yet fallen, the people undergo a fearful "preparedness" of hunger and terror. In lands that have known actual combat, starvation and threats of plague are more than specters. Belgium, Denmark, and Holland haven't enough food for the people, nor even fodder for the cattle. A malnutrition disease, beriberi, attacks Hungary. The number of consumptives in Franco's Spain has doubled since the days of the republic. Coffee, fats, meat, even bread are luxuries, strictly rationed, at times denied altogether, in large regions of Europe. Belgium uses one-quarter of her state budget to support the Nazi army of occupation. Depleted crops, blockades, food speculation sharpen the agonized hunger of civilian populations, the utter wretchedness of the multimillion refugees. As for Germany—who can estimate the privation of the people now, in war, after six years of privation in "peace"?

Shall America feed these starving populations? The majority of the ruling class says no: it would interfere with the British blockade, you know; it might lose the war for "our" way of life. "We" didn't feed China or loyalist Spain, either. In fact "we" are not in favor of feeding any hungry people (including those in America) unless it's to restore "civilian morale" after British imperialism has triumphed. Another section of the ruling class, represented by Herbert Hoover, holds that it is wiser to feed people than to risk a revolution. "It is easier," Mr. Hoover has said, "to maintain order, without the use of force, in a population not dying of starvation." And who has forgotten the Great Humanitarian's use of food as a political weapon in the last world war?

Neither of these two ruling groups—equally brutal and calculating—can be permitted to decide this momentous issue. Only the workers and progressive people of America, whose sympathies are naturally with the common people abroad, can help these horribly victimized people of Europe and Asia. American labor can initiate and direct a program of aid, can establish its solidarity with labor in other lands, against capitalist cruelty. Let the trade unions lead the American people in the fullest expression of their humanity.

Behind the German Lines

GERMANY emerged from the chaos in Rumania with a tighter grip on that country's resources. Dictator Ion Antonescu has expropriated British, American, and Dutch oil holdings alongside Jewish-owned shiplines, and promised Germany double the amount of oil she has been receiving. This has been the pattern everywhere in German-controlled Europe. In Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, the countryside is being scoured for foodstuffs and fats. In France, German commissions are buying up whatever they [illegible] with worthless marks. From Czechoslova[illegible] and Poland, hundreds of thousands of wo[illegible]men have been shipped into Germany [illegible] forced labor. And everywhere the dissolution of workers' organizations, the closing of the universities, the overflow in the concentration camps have been accompanied by doubly severe measures against the Jews, such as the restoration of the ghettoes in Poland.

Germany's occupation is passing from its first stage where diplomatic methods were tried to the second stage—outright force. This is the last resort of the conqueror, and is naturally meeting with a stiffened popular resistance. In Norway, for example, the Quisling government faces a general sabotage from the people. In Holland, the original Dutch administration has been supplanted by direct German rule. Denmark last week saw the arrest of a group of native Danish fascists by local police, which assumed the proportions of an anti-Nazi demonstration. Meanwhile, in the Vichy-controlled areas of France, come reports of student parades against Germany, which on Armistice Day resulted in the arrest of 123 young men, of whom, according to some sources, eleven were shot. In the last ten days there have been three or four reports of renewed Communist activity: sixty-two persons arrested on December 2, and machines for the distribution of leaflets confiscated; in German-controlled France, news items for December 9 speak of ninety Communists arrested in Paris with nine printing presses uncovered.

Many of these reports of anti-Nazi activity in the American press come by way of London, and the press generally assumes that anti-Nazi feeling in Europe will take on pro-British forms. Yet, we think that when the grip of the Gestapo is loosened, the peoples of central Europe will rely on themselves, rather than Britain or any other imperialist power, to guarantee their own destiny.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Readers' Forum

Big Cash Prize Contest

These are a few of the many letters entered in the big cash prize contest announced in my column "Strictly Personal" in the December 3 issue. The postman is still bringing in entries from California and assorted other beautiful places, so prize winners for those who write the best letter on "Books That Affected My Life" won't be decided until next week. Anyway, I think all these letters are swell, and so were every one of the hundred-odd opuses in the office already. Somebody ought to do a paper from the entries on the reading habits of wonderful people. Meantime, loud thanks to all who wrote, and more letters soon and prizes next week!

—RUTH MCKENNEY.

DEAR Miss McKenney: Here are ten books packed with more dynamite than your own list! Your titles reflect your misfortune of a college education.

I started work in a factory at the age of thirteen, and you can bet your bottom dollar that when one factory worker begs another to read a certain book, there is plenty of meat in it. The first book handed me was *God and My Neighbor,* by Robert Blatchford, maybe you think that didn't give my ignorance a blow! Then before I could recover from that, I received *Not Guilty,* by the same author. I believe that I have "corrupted" thirty or forty workers with those two books.

Then came Darwin's *Descent of Man, The Story of the Spanish Inquisition,* Draper's *The Conflict Between Religion and Science,* Enrico's *Criminology,* Engels' *Origin of the Family,* Foster's *Misleaders of Labor,* Lewis' *Ten Blind Leaders of the Blind.* These are ten eye-openers, but what about those that make one fighting mad at the injustices of capitalism—*Grapes of Wrath,* Richard Wright's book, *Native Son;* and then top that off with the last two years of NEW MASSES, and you have a real education!

Bay Village, Ohio. B. B.

DEAR Miss McKenney: Here I am eighteen years old. Ten books and more have changed "my life." I have chosen *the* ten books. I feel strange when I say "my life" because I am comparatively young and perhaps there wasn't so much to change.

As I suppose you know, there is nothing as nice as being young (real young) and smug. Well, that's the way I was three years ago (fifteen years old). Read a lot then as now. One day I came right smack up against *The Mother,* by Sholom Asch. It was a terribly sentimental story. But here were Jewish people living under pretty bad conditions. Conditions I knew nothing about. I was shocked.

Then came Hugo's *Les Miserables* and started me thinking a little, a very little. Enough to make me read it over, and it is a long book. Of course I said "only in books not in life." Okay.

Mike Gold's *Jews Without Money* was next. I remember I started reading it when I was about twelve but my mother took it away. Then years later (three years) I read it. "This isn't only in books. I know. I have seen pushcarts and the East Side," I said then. And after that book Sinclair's *The Jungle.* "Whew!" Okay, okay, what could you do? There has to be some bad. But why? I looked back over those sickening pages, though. I didn't get sentimental about them. I asked about what was being done. And my history teacher gave me the good old line that "of course things were bad. But the government was slowly and surely taking care of those things. Hadn't the Armour Co. been cleaned up?"

God's Angry Man, by Leonard Ehrlich, stands clear after a year and a half. George Seldes' *Lords of the Press* came next.

In July of this year I read Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel.* Lost, lost, lost, lost. . . . I felt that way and I was beginning to think: "There is nothing to believe in. People are human. You can't change them." Communists were fools. I was going to go out and concentrate on hoarding a fortune and then write some books about lost, lost, lost, etc.

Then a funny thing happened. I started to read *In Place of Splendor,* by C. de La Mora, and *Native Son.* Wow! I closed *Native Son* thinking that I couldn't just close it and say lost, lost, lost. I closed *In Place of Splendor* asking about this place Russia. It was the first clear picture I had gotten of the Spanish civil war. Why didn't America help? Why didn't Britain help? France?

And here I am today, only eighteen and a few months, still able to smile at the *Nation* and the *New Republic* and take NEW MASSES. I've been to the John Reed Memorial meeting, the YCL rally at the Royal Windsor, the Madison Square Garden rally; they're all under my belt. But still to come is Reed's *Ten Days, The History of the CPSU,* and *The Fat Years and the Lean.*

Newark, N. J. N. S.

DEAR Miss McKenney: I can't resist a contest which requires no box tops, so here's your letter about the ten books that changed my life and rattled my teeth, etc.

Before I was twelve nothing I read, so far as I now remember, had any such effect, unless you count Poe's *Raven* which made me a very unpleasant child of nine because I insisted on reciting it to everyone. But when I was twelve, there was Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger.* Maybe it was supposed to be funny. Some day I will read it again to find out. What I got out of it then was predigested Berkeley and Hume, and I antagonized a large number of other twelve-year-olds by telling them they were only figments of my imagination.

About a year later I discovered Leta S. Hollingworth's *The Psychology of the Adolescent.* I read it in secret because I got the idea it was a dirty book. It shocked me profoundly into the discovery that not only was I not "different," I was a statistical item. It took me a long time to recover. Another very important "dirty" book of the same period was a huge tome of medical information for the layman entitled *In Sickness and in Health.* I have no idea who wrote it, but it dates about 1885. From it I tried to learn about sex. I succeeded in discovering only such items as the inadvisability of wearing tight corsets when pregnant.

Of that period the only other outstanding book was Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray.* I became Dorian Gray, and every day the pink-cheeked face in the mirror belied the horrible sins (among them the perusal of the two aforementioned books) which I daily committed.

During the five or six years that followed nothing really hit me till Rainer Maria Rilke's *Journal of My Other Self.* Right then I became a mystic, or rather found that I had been one for years.

Rilke still has a lot to say to me, and that book and my remaining five are still with me. They are the *Poems* of Archibald MacLeish (and nothing the war-hungry Librarian of Congress can do can affect this), C. Day Lewis' *The Magnetic Mountain,* Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* E. E. Cummings' *The Enormous Room,* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises.* The first two contain, I think, some of the finest poetry this century has produced. The latter three are my subway books. When I'm currently reading some 940-page opus unsuited to straphanging, I take one of these along, open at random and read.

The Bible and Homer and Milton are not on my list. Frankly the styles of all three bore me. Marx's *Capital* could never be. I once got 30 cents an hour for reading to a girl who wanted to brush up on her stenography. She didn't care what I read. *Capital* I thought the only book that could be read at the pace she could write. Actually, there is no book that could be read at that pace.

New York City. J. D.

DEAR Miss McKenney: From the age of one to about thirteen, my life was spent in a little Italian village near the Naples of pre-Mussolini days. As an erstwhile Catholic and acolyte, the first literary shock of my life in America was called *The Bible Unmasked.* Mr. Joseph Lewis jarred me plenty! To consider that the God I had been worshipping all my life should condone incest (Lot and his daughters), and abet wanton murder (David and the Philistines). . . .

Some time later, my college course in Freshman English dictated that I read Thomas Hardy's *Return of the Native.* Then I admired and gloried over Eugene O'Neill's *Nine Plays,* especially *Great God Brown,* and *The Hairy Ape.* Yank's reactions so angered and confused me that I conducted mental blitzkriegs against all manifestations of wealth, respectability, and smugness.

But I couldn't take it. What chance, felt I, does the individual have to cope with those mysterious cosmic forces which, as I write this, decree that 52,000,000 bellies shall shrink while Jones and Laughlin increase their profits by over 2,000 percent? Why struggle? Why rant and argue with your friends? What can you do about it? Who are you gonna fight? Get smart! Escape! And if you can't, then create for yourself a mental world where all is beautiful and stately, and even ugliness parades in imposing magnificence.

Thus I came to the worship of Branch Cabell—chiefly for his "literary style," you understand. But, strangely enough, even in Cabell's best work, *Beyond Life,* there runs an undercurrent of struggle and frustration. And I loved his epigrams!

In 1929 I stopped trying to become an engineer and became a clerk. Five years later I had resigned and made my way across the country to California. Picking cotton at 70 cents a hundred, peaches at 10 cents, and tomatoes (the ketchup kind), at 5 cents, with an armed guard to keep me from being contaminated by "these here radical agitators," the Salinas strike, and Upton Sinclair's valiant campaign for governor, step by step, brought me to read *The Jungle.*

Through the depression, and relief, and WPA, plus a few months as investigator for the California State Relief Administration, I began to sense that what I had taken to be a "personal atom" was in reality a mass of suffering—a huge question mark of national insecurity and exploitation sprawled across a country whose government was of, by, and for, the people.

That question mark loomed even larger with my reading van Paassen's *Days of Our Years.* Good old Pierre even opined as how international misery, wars, savagery, and death were manifestations of the mastery of a moneyed minority over a productive majority. "Ah," sez I, "there's the germ. But why, WHY, WHY?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Along came a bewhiskered ghost by the name of Marx. He traced for me the development of production from a simple force for the need of society, to a host of component forces whose life and death struggles have become a fetish for the purpose of increasing a minority's "surplus value." And in cold, mathematical terms he showed me the numerous contradictions through whose operation I had seen mounds of oranges burned and acres of wheat turned under while people starved, factories lying idle while these people went begging for work, not to mention vigilantism, race prejudice, and terrorism. Through *Capital,* I saw the light academically.

So? What was I going to do about it? I found the next step forward in *The History of the CPSU.* Of course, Ruth, the process was neither as simple nor as devoid of blind alleys as this letter would seem to indicate. Nor has my intellectual train stopped at this particular station. Through Constancia de la Mora's *In Place of Splendor,* I alternately cried and bit my teeth in impotent rage. And Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* supplied no little emotional fuel to my convictions. But I should prefer to except these last two books from my list; in their stead, I should like to enter what I now consider the most glorious revolutionary document in history: "We hold these truths to be self-evident."

New York City. A. R. P.

DEAR Miss McKenney: First on my list would appear *Ingersoll's Forty-four Lectures.* "The Mistakes of Moses" gave my 13-year-old soul the breath-taking realization that the skepticism which caused me to be asked out of the Sunday School might be a legitimate function of the adult mind and not just another evidence of the puzzling inability of my particular mind to function according to adult standards.

The next book was the Bible itself, for I went immediately into a Unitarian phase and the humanist analysis was a first step to a materialist analysis and evaluation of Christ. Having shucked the supernatural, the ethical core became vitalized and suddenly important.

Milton's *Paradise Lost,* which I probably interpreted quite wrongly for the teacher was scandalized and fascinated, was nevertheless the next great book. *Crime and Punishment* made me first aware that something else than Stoddard's lecture had come out of Russia. It also wakened me to the stream of consciousness and opened a path soon, happily, to lead to the *Brothers Karamazov* and beyond. It also started me backtracking to pick up Chekhov and other Russians which I, only dimly aware of them, had ignored in passing.

The Spencerian Stanza almost deserves a word here, but the next book to open a doorway was Richard T. Ely's *Outline of Economics,* which I have since thrown away but should like to have among my curiosae.

About this time—I was a sophomore at California—I fell into a chorus; this being 1927, we were invited to join in singing the *"Missa Solemnis"* in the Beethoven Centennial concert planned by the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Perforce, during several full rehearsals and two performances, I was surrounded by Beethoven's mighty *Fifth Symphony in C Minor.* At seventeen, I was musically illiterate. I cannot truthfully say that this "book" expanded my mind instantly but it cracked the cortex. Thinking about what might have been lost to me (including my wife) is one of the things I shrink from. But if you must have a book, the next one to signify much was two years later when *All Quiet on the Western Front* burst on the world just before the depression did. But its good work had already been started, all unwittingly, in 1919 by Arthur Guy Empy and *Private Peat.*

The next book was some years later, following an interim of Willa Cather, Burns Mantle, Ogden Nash, H. L. Mencken, James Branch Cabell, and Douglas Freeman's *R. E. Lee.* I had been exposed to *The Roan Stallion* (along with *The Sun Also Rises*), but had concluded sadly that sophistication was not for me. I'd even written verse of a sort. But in 1932 or 1933, I read *Give Thy Heart to the Hawks,* and Mr. Jeffers did something to my innards. Trying to get it out of my system led by easy stages and assisted in the dull Richmond evenings by a gent named Hal Boner, to T. S. Eliot, C. Day Lewis, MacLeish, Auden, Spender, *et al.* Hal writes durn good stuff himself, if you ask me. NEW MASSES is missing a bet there.

This is getting hard now. I should like to say, for the sake of afflatus, that Lincoln Steffens' immortal *Autobiography* led me straight to salvation at this point. Unfortunately, it didn't. I was still in the Ezra Pound period. At the time I classed it with *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing,* but no higher. NEW MASSES really deserves a niche, at least it ranks with my broken back or ten weeks on a fracture board as a reason to remember 1935.

However, be that as it may, the last two books which bit into my moral fiber were Kenneth Burke's *Permanence and Change* and the collection of *Proletarian Literature in the US.* Perhaps one influenced my interpretation of the other, but, of course, regardless of the author's plain language and intent, it is what you *think* he says that is his true message. What had been a vaguely defined drift, almost like that of a crowd down a midway, became with these books a determined and satisfyingly unobstructed flow. I may not be any place mentally now, but at least I know the direction is right. These books were the guideposts and the specters which steered me and skeered me along the way.

New York City. A. M.

DEAR Miss McKenney: Your weekly page in NEW MASSES of December 3 was so provocative that I am led to break a personal rule, namely, never to enter a contest no matter what the prize may be.

Since I cannot do a 500-word stint in discussing the ten best (?) books I must ask that the following suffice for a statement and elaboration of my choices. I like your assigning the superlative adjective only in relation to various parts of your existence and shall adopt this line in drawing up my list.

1. At a very tender age I was introduced to *Grimm's Fairy Tales,* and I still think it desirable "escape" reading.

2. *Crock of Gold,* by James Stephens. Show me something better for early adolescence.

3. *Penguin Island,* by Anatole France. Show me the most obvious satire and I'll show you the most popular book for the awakening intellect.

4. *The Logic of Modern Physics* (Calculus is in again), by Bridgman. During the last part of my stay at college I was much troubled by the philosophical concept of absolute reality as applied to science. Mr. Bridgman saved me a minor crisis by pointing out a ridiculously simple proposition that led to a sufficient revision of my approach to science from metaphysics to materialism.

5. *South Wind,* by Norman Douglas. Mr. Douglas did for my communal self what Mr. Bridgman accomplished for my scientific self.

6. *Fascism and Social Revolution,* by R. Palme Dutt. My introduction to Marxism, still to be referred to at regular intervals.

7. Lenin—anything—clear, beautiful, and beautifully logical writing—especially *Kautsky, Imperialism, Empirio-criticism.*

8. *Personal History,* by Vincent Sheean. Fine writing on how to avoid the depths of illogic.

9. *Ten Days That Shook the World,* by John Reed. I haven't the words.

10. *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens.* Our social system in action told better than by anyone else. I personally prefer it to any other commentary.

I suppose that I could mention many greater books than those mentioned above, e.g., *Grapes of Wrath, Christ in Concrete, Jungle, Faust* (Part Two), *Quiet Flows the Don,* and others, but none of the last mentioned would permit me to place them in a decisive part of my life.

Stamford, Conn. A. R. G.

Worthy Cause

TO NEW MASSES: The International Labor Defense is now conducting its fifteenth annual Christmas campaign. We are asking you to print this appeal for support in your magazine.

In Oklahoma twelve persons were arrested last August on charges of criminal syndicalism, held incommunicado after raids were made on their homes, and nine men and women were held under exorbitant bail for nearly three months in the County Jail. Through efforts of the International Labor Defense attorneys defended each case which came to trial, obtained reductions in bail, and secured, one by one, the release of seven of the nine persons. Efforts are now under way to secure the freedom of two men still imprisoned. "Evidence" in two cases has consisted solely of books, photographs and pamphlets, much of which is repetitious, seized from a nearby book shop. No charges were cited or evidence used of criminal utterances or acts on the part of the defendants.

Thus we see in the Oklahoma prosecution a rise of hysteria to undermine the Bill of Rights, denying citizens the most elemental liberties of their persons and homes.

Such increase in arrests and convictions is now the order of the day. The Attorney-General has indicated officially that there will be a rise in attacks on peoples' rights. The International Labor Defense will be obliged to take care of many more victims each month of the coming year. The number to be cared for will be determined by the amount of support received for this work. The defense of Labor's prisoners entails not only the cost of lengthy trials but also the usual allowances of relief for each prisoner and also for the families on the outside; subscriptions to periodicals for men behind bars; funds for medical attention; equipment and postage and funds for long distance phone calls with which to keep in touch from day to day with persons facing trial.

Our 1940 Christmas Drive has as its purpose the continuation and further improvement of this service.

HESTER G. HUNTINGTON.

New York City.

Appreciation

TO NEW MASSES: As America draws nearer to war, the liars grow careless. The *Harvard Law Review* piece by three assistants of Attorney General Jackson, which you exposed in your November 26 issue, is only one of many signposts to indicate the horror beyond the horizon on the road that Roosevelt has taken. All honor to NEW MASSES for making the sign more vivid. The American people can yet awaken and halt this march to war and poverty and enslavement by welding their own unity for peace and democracy.

MORRIS WATSON.

New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Honest Man's Credo

Harry F. Ward's book on the dynamics of religion and democracy is richly stored with facts and passionately devoted to the building of a rational future. Reviewed by Henry Hart.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE, *by Harry F. Ward. Modern Age Books. $2.50.*

THERE are many in New York City whose only acquaintance with Protestantism in the United States is a casual Monday morning glance at the headlines on that page, or half page, which the *Times* devotes to Sunday sermons. And these sermons are enough to turn the stomach of any intelligent person. Very often they are incoherent, and sometimes even illiterate.

This degradation is not as irremediable as it looks. Men who will not fight for their convictions are often more willing to play the fool than to be venal and vicious overtly. This, it would seem, is the status of the Protestant ministry today. Bishop Manning's sermons are quite intelligible, for he agrees with Lenin that the owning class needs only a hangman and a priest. Bishop Manning has decided to serve Mammon and he has no divided loyalties. But more honest men are unable to freeze their consciences. They are not utterly deaf to reason and human need.

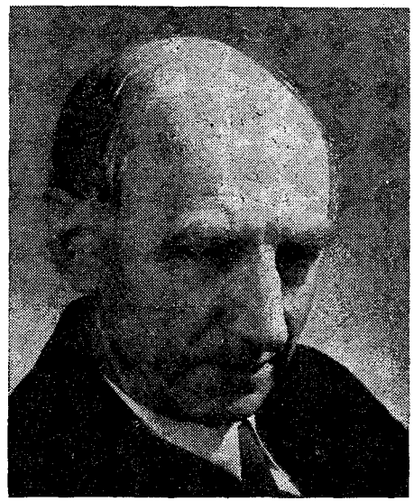
It is to these that Harry F. Ward primarily speaks. I do not mean to infer that his humanitarian zeal and intellectual acumen can find response only among the bewildered Protestants of 1940—clerical and lay. By no means. Those of all religious persuasions will do very well to listen to him, as would very many atheists and agnostics. No, I mean something much more dynamic. Dr. Ward is convinced that prophetic religion (as distinguished from the institutionalized variety) can play as progressive a role today as it has in some of the historical crises of the last 5,000 years. Prophetic religion has often been linked to the protests of the people. Dr. Ward links them together. This, in a country so overwhelmingly Protestant that the Catholics are a minority of 15 percent, is of considerable importance.

Sooner or later the attempt will be made in this country to corral the 100,000,000 native white American Protestants—churched and unchurched—in the interest of reaction. Such books as *Democracy and Social Change* and such honest and courageous men as Dr. Ward materially help to prevent this attempt from being successful. I do not hesitate to say that if *Democracy and Social Change* were read, understood, and accepted by the Protestant ministers and Sunday School teachers of this country, and were enthusiastically espoused, discussed, and explained for a month or two, the future of the United States would be easier, happier, and more rational.

Democracy and Social Change is neither the wistful utterance of a believer in reformist socialism nor the defiant outcry of an ill-informed and unrealistic tyro. It is richly stored with facts, coldly analytical, and passionately devoted to the creation of a classless society by disciplined and united workers, farmers, and intellectuals. It is the fruit of a long life of honest study and action. This book, I feel, is the fulfillment of such a life, the crowning work of Dr. Ward's career.

It is a short book, as such a book should be, for a master of his subject is neither irrelevant nor verbose, and arranges ideas in their proper sequence. There are seventeen chapters in *Democracy and Social Change,* each of them written in a swift, succinct style often epigrammatic and always instantaneously lucid.

The first chapter states Dr. Ward's thesis and defines the problem which war and unemployment have forced the American people to face: can social change be effected under democracy? Dr. Ward believes we are not "at the end of the democratic era but at a turning point in its development." How social change is to be effected under democracy, he continues, can not be known in advance nor learned through "mere discussion. It has to be worked out, it is being worked out, in the struggles and sufferings of the people. How much and how long they suffer depends upon how quickly they realize that the basic fact of the situation in which they find themselves is the breakdown of the economic machinery by which we all live."



Dr. Harry F. Ward

The next chapters describe this world-wide economic breakdown, the failure of the New Deal to mend it domestically, and its social and cultural effects. Four chapters follow which deal with separate aspects of democracy —what it is ("not government by the consent of the governed but government by the people themselves"); the relationships between capitalism and democracy as they have differed in the course of capitalism's rise and decline; the imperative necessity for economic democracy; and an analysis of the democratic state as it has existed in this country, which concludes on the note that our democracy has been subverted by the owning class and that the "struggle for social change is the struggle for state power."

The nature of fascism is then defined by references to the contemporary American scene. This naturally leads to a discussion of Red scares, especially the one now being fomented, wherein Dr. Ward shows why there is nothing antagonistic to democracy in Communism or in the Soviet Union, and why fascism *is* antithetical to democracy. This raises the whole question of the class struggle, which is analyzed, and followed by a chapter containing the essential rudiments of Marxism. This in turn leads to a discussion of the role of the intellectuals and the necessary transfer of their allegiance from the dictates of monopoly capitalism to the aspirations of the working class.

In a chapter entitled "The Role of Religion," Dr. Ward maintains that whereas institutionalized religion remains as always at the bidding of the owning class, there is another kind of religion which is not the opiate of the people and can be a liberating and progressive force. He supports this last with several apposite historical allusions and declares that for religion to have meaning and a place in the struggles of the people

> . . . all the authoritarian elements in the Christian religion which came in when Christianity adopted the principle of the Roman empire will have to go. They will take with them all the beliefs and ceremonies based on superstitions which arose from ignorance of the ways of nature, and the method of philosophical speculations detached from the working world, which Christian thinking borrowed from the Greek aristocratic philosophers.

This chapter also contains a brief description of some of the ways by which the church is now being used against the American people and will be used if fascism increases, a cursory exposition of the authoritarian and anti-democratic nature of the Catholic Church, and a remark or two on the ineffectuality of "liberal religion."

The four concluding chapters discuss civil liberties (Dr. Ward was for twenty years chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union), the virtues of the Democratic Front, the effects which war would produce upon American life, and a plan for immediate action. Primary in Dr. Ward's plan are oppo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Masses

NEW YEAR'S EVE

Rigadoon

(old French for Jamboree)

Manhattan Center

34th St. & 8th Ave.

NEW YORK CITY

TUES. EVE. DEC. 31

Frankie Newton and his De Luxe Swing Orchestra

BRILLIANT FLOOR SHOW

Join the Fun and Do the Rigadoon

SIDESPLITTING • HILARIOUS • TERRIFIC

TICKETS $1.00 (plus tax) in advance
$1.25 at the door

ON SALE New Masses, 461 4th Ave.; Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.; Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St.; Gray's (Leblang's), 43rd St. and B'way, Manhattan Center

sition to our entering the war, defense of democratic rights (foremost among which he lists the rights of such minority parties as the Communist), and resistance to the use of the defense program to curtail social services and civil liberties. The remainder of the plan concerns the education and preparation of the people for the struggle for state power.

My conscience obliges me to declare at the end of this justifiably laudatory review that there are some things in this book with which I disagree. In the chapter on Marxism, for example, I regret the omission of Lenin's elucidation of the necessity for a disciplined party to lead the proletariat. This omission, I think, accounts for some obscurities in Dr. Ward's exposition of the relations between intellectuals and the working class. Several Democratic Front concepts could stand reformulation. Here and there throughout the book are a few wisps of the air that is above the battle. And on religious matters, my views are not Dr. Ward's. But *Democracy and Social Change* is too fine and useful a book to be subjected here to an elaboration of these points of disagreement. Instead, I prefer to declare that I am very glad there has been, is, and will be a Harry F. Ward in the world.

HENRY HART.

Trade Unions

LOOK AT LABOR: THE STORY OF INDUSTRIAL WAR AND PEACE, *by Leon Goodelman, with an introduction by Leo Huberman. Modern Age Books. 50 cents.*

AT THIS moment, when labor in the United States is facing a concentrated attack by its enemies under the slogan of "national defense," young Mr. Goodelman's clear and concise little book is an illuminating contribution. Written in simple style, it is a primer for those who are learning the ABC's of trade union struggle.

Not that it is an oversimplification or vulgarization of the historic battles and issues of the last decade. On the contrary—Mr. Goodelman has not hesitated to seek conclusive formulations for a program of action, and his reasoning is sound. *Look at Labor* from its very first paragraph lays a foundation for an understanding of the forces involved, the tactics employed. His story is one of warfare, and his description of the battles waged is realistic, based as it is on the records of the La Follette committee and the NLRB.

What is the story Mr. Goodelman tells? First he sketches the basic conflict of interests between capital and labor, the reasons for warfare. The alternative to this costly struggle is collective bargaining, he points out, contracts won either through the picket line and strike, boycott or by negotiation. But the employer prefers war to peace, and it is in the description of the methods used by him to defeat the aims of labor that Mr. Goodelman's book excels. He shows how great organizations of industrialists pour endless wealth into a program designed to disrupt, halt, and destroy labor organization. Channels of information about the true issues of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SPORT CENTER OF THE EAST

TRIPLE LAKE RANCH
SUCCASUNNA, N.J.

RESERVE NOW FOR XMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

Enjoy the holiday at this popular nearby resort ● Free Horseback Riding Instruction ● All Winter Sports ● Well-heated accommodations ● Teachers' Discount on Full Holidays ● Only 37 miles from N. Y. N. Y. Phone: TR. 5-2163.

ARCADIA *OPEN ALL YEAR*
FISHKILL, N. Y.

1100 acre estate. Modern oil heating plant, plus wood-burning fireplaces in spacious, comfortably furnished rooms. Indoor and outdoor sports including skiing and skating on premises, bicycling, symphonic recordings. Unexcelled cuisine.
Make Xmas Reservations now—from $25 weekly
Phone: Beacon 727—N. Y. Phone: CHelsea 2-0967
R. R. Station: Beacon, New York

ROYALE-HARMONY
Formerly Unity and Royale Hotel
MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS FOR XMAS NOW!
Ideal place for your winter vacation—"Tops" in entertainment. All winter sports—FREE BICYCLING, excellent cuisine. 501 Monmouth Ave., Lakewood, N. J. Tel. Lakewood 1159, 1146
Management: Gross, Gelbaum and Broude

AN *ARTIST INVITES YOU
to...his 100 acre farm
...glorious country
...superlative cooking
...homey atmosphere
...barn dances, all sports
...55 miles from N. Y.
Limited accommodations for holidays; low rates
* GEORGE A. PODORSON
250 Park Ave., N. Y. C. Phone: PLaza 3-8926
or Locust Grove Farm, Sylvan Lake, Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

ARROW-HEAD LODGE
ELLENVILLE, N. Y. Ellenville 502
Christmas in the Shawangunk Mts.
You are invited to enjoy a Yuletide Vacation that will include:
Skating · Tobogganing · Skiing · Sleigh Rides
Musicales · Special Entertainment
Dance Orchestra
At Special Low Rates
MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW!
City Inf.: Dr. D. Newman, JErome 6-2334

LATEST RECORDS
5 Newest Soviet Records
Featuring
"STEPAN RAZIN," "THE SUN IS SETTING OVER THE HORIZON," "MY IRON HORSES," "NIGHT TIME"
and many others
Send for Special List NM
O. PAGANI & BRO.
289 BLEECKER STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

In New Masses Next Week!
OUT DEC. 19
"THE INSIDE STORY ON MEXICO"
By JOSEPH NORTH
DON'T MISS IT!
WATCH FOR IT!

the conflict are controlled by the bosses. The law is invoked or distorted, then applied as a weapon to knife the workers, as in the anti-trust law prosecutions of labor leaders. The employer devises yellow-dog contracts, seeks and wins injunctions. When subterfuge and legal chicanery fail, he resorts to the recruitment of private armies which war with bullets and gas against the men who produce his goods and his profits. Another form of warfare against trade unionism is described by Mr. Goodelman—the fifth-column tactic of spies, informers, Red-baiting, formation of rival company-financed unions. Promotion experts are engaged to conduct anti-union campaigns; they evolve plans for control of community opinion, the marshaling of the independent-minded citizenry against labor, as in the Remington Rand "Mohawk Valley Plan." Excellent indeed is Mr. Goodelman's presentation of these facts and the manner in which he establishes the link between anti-unionism and Red-baiting to such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce.

How do the workers oppose the relentless aggression? Mr. Goodelman shows that they have won many victories: most important was the pressure which brought about enactment of the Wagner act, a pressure exerted and continued through the organizing of the unorganized in the industrial unions of the CIO. Mr. Goodelman calls the Wagner act the greatest of labor's accomplishments—a veritable bill of rights. He shows too how the Wagner act has been attacked, weakened from within, preyed upon by legislators who are unquestionably (because of the fact that most of them come from poll-tax areas) representatives of none other than employer interests. And there has been political and financial hamstringing as well from the executive branch of the government, the Roosevelt administration playing a leading role in this plot to restore the open shop, and linked directly with the manufacturing interests is the hierarchy of the AFL. Mr. Goodelman exposes this sorry situation fully, and argues correctly that the only safeguard against the destruction of labor's gains is a political party of labor broad enough to include all workers.

Look at Labor belongs on your library shelf. It belongs, too, in the pocket of every worker who has not yet become conscious of the real issues behind his daily battle for wages. It is to be hoped that Mr. Goodelman's book will go into more than one edition so that he may add a final chapter which will reveal how the campaign of war hysteria and the conversion of production into war economy threatens labor with a new and even more dangerous assault. JAMES MORISON.

The Candle Burns Out

MAKE BRIGHT THE ARROWS, *by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper & Bros. $1.75.*

THIS vixenish little volume could also have been named *Make Ready the Coffins,* but that would have cut out the

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG
YOUR DATE WITH SANTA CLAUS!
Eat, play and be modernly merry at this DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY in the Mountains. Ice skating on our own floodlighted lake—all winter sports available and indulged in even now. Pleasurable indoor diversions—Arts and Crafts, modern dances — library, music to read or dream by — Open fireplaces — cozy quarters — good eating, genial company.
FULL STAFFED GALA ENTERTAINMENT
HURRY YOUR XMAS RESERVATIONS
'Phone: Fallsburg 53 Woodbourne, N. Y.

Birdland
OPEN ALL YEAR
Formerly Lewisohn's Estate, Central Valley, N. Y. 1 hour from N. Y. 225 acres in fascinating hiking country. 5 miles of paths. Riding. Ice Skating. Skiing. Seasonal Sports. Library. Congenial atmosphere. Musical Recordings. Open Fireplaces. Excellent cuisine. Adults. Tel.: Highland Mills 7895. Mgt.: FANNIE GOLDBERG.

PLUM POINT
the year round vacation resort
Magnificent estate on the Hudson River
Only 53 miles from New York
All outdoor sports Saddle horses on grounds
Fine Library Superlative cuisine Musical recordings
Booklet Sent on Request
Write P. O. Box 471, Newburgh, N. Y. Phone Newburgh 4270
MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW!

Sacks Farm
Saugerties, N. Y. Telephone 82 F. 5
Off the beaten path. Unusually beautiful countryside. Picturesque hiking trails. Acres of pine woods. Finest home cooking. Ice skating and other winter sports on premises. Open all year.
Rate $18 per week—$3 by the day.
MAKE CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S RESERVATIONS NOW

the best gifts . . .
BOOKS

● **AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT KARL MARX**
by William Blake
Blake presents the ideas of Marxism, not only as they relate to economics but in their wider philosophic implications. In a sense it is two books: A Marxian economics handbook, and an account of all the chief critics of Marx, European and American, from his time to our own. Complete, 748 pages. Regularly $5.00
GIFT SPECIAL $1.59*

● **FREEDOM OF THE PRESS**
by George Seldes
The editor of *In Fact* has exposed the press for its Big Business Control, its knowing falsification of news, its complete subservience to Wall Street. Regularly $2.50
GIFT SPECIAL 69c

● **WE DIDN'T ASK UTOPIA**
by Harry and Rebecca Timbres
A vivid, human book about a family of Quakers and their experiences in the Soviet Union. Intimate detail of their life among the Russian people. Regularly $2.50
GIFT SPECIAL $1.29

**Available at this price only at*
Workers' Book Shop
50 EAST 13th STREET, N. Y. C.
"We Pay the Postage"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIT THE TOP at
HOTEL
ALLABEN
LAKEWOOD
NEW JERSEY
303—7th St.
Phone Lakewood 819
THE HOUSE OF WINTER ACTIVITY
TOPS IN FOOD
TOPS IN FACILITIES—Every Room with Bath-Showers.
TOPS IN ACTIVITIES—Badminton, Ping-Pong, Volley Ball, Horse-Shoe Pitching, Bicycles on Premises, etc.
But NO TOPS in Rates—We're Very Moderate
Director: Jack Schwartz, formerly of Unity Hotel

FOR XMAS & NEW YEAR'S
A NEW RURAL RETREAT
at South Pascack Road
Spring Valley
N. Y.
THE BROOKWOOD
Home cooking — well heated rooms, only $3.00 per day.
Ice-Skating at Pearl River.
Send or telephone reservations to Mrs. M. Galaskos—Tel. Nanuet 2426.
Travel: Train $1.00 round trip or Bus at 36th St. Manh. to Pearl River. Car to Spring Valley

Two New Keynote Releases!
Hits from the new "Pins & Needles"
*I WANNA BE A G-MAN
SONG OF THE ADS
Sung by the composer himself—Harold J. Rome
K-502—$.75
*MENE, MENE, TEKEL
The first complete recording
Clarence Palmer—Baritone & Mixed Chorus
K-501—$.75
Now on Sale at all Record Shops
Distributed by
KEYNOTE RECORDINGS, INC.
133 W. 44th St. N. Y. C.

The Ideal Xmas Gift!
SIX SONGS FOR DEMOCRACY
AUTOGRAPHED BY PAUL ROBESON
Price $5—Vets Receive $2.50 per Album
SPECIAL LIMITED EDITION
TWO NEW RELEASES
"I WANNA BE A G-MAN" @ $.75
"MENE, MENE, TEKEL" @ .75
THE MUSIC ROOM
133 W. 44th St., N. Y. LO 3-4420
Mail orders shipped promptly. OPEN EVE'S

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

only piece of good poetry in the book, the inscription from *Jeremiah*. Empty pages, wide, blank spaces, and generous spreading eke out sixty-five pages of forced, careless, and prosaic verse. When it rhymes it's doggerel. When it strays from the beaten paths of measured spondees, it stumbles, crawls, and sprawls. The sub-title, *1940 Notebook,* and the information offered by Miss Millay, that these poems were written "in passion and in deep concern," suggest excuses and defenses for the poor quality of the work. Covered with attractive boards, dressed in jacket and lavish blurbs, titled and priced, and the world is once more reminded of Edna—just in time for the Christmas trade.

The present volume "deals with themes vital to every American and the cause of democracy throughout the world," says the jacket. One poem entitled, appropriately, "Intelligence Test," sums up the Millay contribution. In this tirade she attacks, with all the stupid, reactionary lies and slanders, the youth of America who have dared to organize for peace, jobs and security. Miss Millay's democracy and these aims apparently cannot breathe in the same air. Throughout the volume she vents her spite and enmity towards the nation's youth in bitter, vulgar terms.

In a desperate attempt to keep the old candle aglow, Miss Millay has borrowed a light from the flames of imperialist war. The democracy revealed by her guttering tallow is as tawdry as the muse. "Ease has demoralized us, nearly so; we know nothing of the rigours of winter;" etc., and, "Soft is the muscle, soft the man." sound contemptuously familiar. Here's a tidbit for a strong stomach:

> ——, poor child, being under-fed, confused and frail;
> I pity you; I hope you will find, as in the fairy-tale,
> Strawberries under the snow.

And as a chaser:

> "Q. You, young man out of a job, but eating hearty
> Still, somehow, at the State's *(L'Etat c'est moi's)* expense,"

This young man must have found strawberries under the snow, millions of them, all put there by the Blue Fairy disguised as Congress.

And what has the Sybil to say on the lessons of the past and the peace of the future? This: "All this forgotten or deferred/At least until there's time for strife." Let's fight about that after the war.

This is no volume of poetry; it's not even a decent book. It is a cheat in every way, intrinsically, artistically, and intellectually. It isn't the expression of an individual, but the hysteria and meanness of a ruling class. It has in it the unmistakable shriek of fear. It is afraid of the death that awaits it and more afraid of the new, young, abundant life which is forcing it into oblivion.

Miss Millay went to borrow a light but she threw her whole damn candle in.

ALEXANDER F. BERGMAN.

Negro Prize Fighter

WALK HARD, TALK LOUD, *by Len Zinberg. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.50.*

FOR several years Len Zinberg, a young white writer, has been producing short stories that reveal an acute and sympathetic interest in the Negro's problems. In his first novel, *Walk Hard, Talk Loud,* Mr. Zinberg tells the story of a Negro prize fighter. The author is far more successful than most writers who approach Negro life from the outside, even those who command more art (Ernest Hemingway, for example, from whom Zinberg has learned much).

Andy Whitman, a shoe-shine boy, becomes an apprenticed fighter after a boxing manager has seen a demonstration of his left-hand punch in a street brawl. Given good training, Andy progresses rapidly. The status of prize fighter opens up an avenue of escape from his narrow Negro life. He hopes to pound enough money out of the fight game to carry himself and his father to France or South America, where they will be free from race prejudice. When he falls in love with Ruth, a young Negro Communist, Andy broadens his escapist dream to include her.

Walk Hard, Talk Loud is the story of Andy's gradual awakening. First his hopes of becoming champion are dashed by race discrimination and an unfair fight-decision. He determines to fight just for the money, to become rich, and marry his girl. But he has not reckoned with his fate, symbolized in the person of a racketeer who controls boxing in New York. In human terms Zinberg shows that Andy's dream is utopian: there is no easy escape from a diseased social order, which Andy encounters in its most distorted, dehumanized form in Lou, the racketeer. Lou hates Andy because the boy is a Negro. To Andy, the racketeer is an ever-present reminder of that supreme moment of Jim Crow crisis when a Negro must decide either to affirm his manhood and face death, or prolong the crisis, back down, and live forever with a rankling sense of guilt. It is the ultimate moment of frustration, in which all the violence generated by a lifetime of discrimination is set off by a trifle and becomes centered upon a single object. For Andy this object is Lou, and Lou is a killer; Andy knows when he is pounding Lou's face to a pulp that he is facing gangster's bullets. And no one is more surprised than Andy to discover that the presence of newspaper reporters kept Lou from killing him. Frustrated in his immediate revenge, the racketeer blacklists Andy from the fight game for life. When the prize fighter, attempting to get another manager, discovers the absolute power of the racketeer, his disillusionment is complete.

Andy's romanticism takes the hard, tough form offered by the fistic game with its big prizes. A sensitive boy, he reacts to the conditions of his life with violence, ready fists, and a hard chin. In contrast, Ruth is soft and tender. Yet it is Ruth who fills the emptiness when his dream bursts, and leads him to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KEEP
the hands of Labor
FREE

American labor is now entering upon a gigantic struggle to preserve a fundamental right — the right to strike. This is the struggle of all progressive America to preserve another fundamental right—the right to fight for peace!

The monopoly newspapers — intellectual hatchet-men of the war-makers—have organized a great conspiracy to help the Washington Administration shackle labor in the bonds of anti-strike legislation. Labor's fairweather friends in the world of journalism are now beating Roosevelt's war drums, hurling charges of "sabotage" and "treason" at workers who fight for decent living standards in the face of Wall Street's immense war profits.

All those who are determined to keep the hands of labor free, depend upon the Daily and Sunday Worker for full and accurate accounts of labor's struggle against anti-strike legislation! It is both a political necessity and a personal privilege to read the Daily and Sunday Worker!

Special Introductory Offer
(Except Manhattan and Bronx)

DAILY and SUNDAY WORKER
1 Month $1.25

Daily Worker
50 East 13 St., New York, N. Y.

the only realistic solution of his problems.

Walk Hard, Talk Loud is an exciting first novel with plenty of action and suspense. Len Zinberg indicates how far a writer, whose approach to Negro life is uncolored by condescension, stereotyped ideas, and other faults growing out of race prejudice, is able to go with a Marxist understanding of the economic basis of Negro personality. That, plus a Marxist sense of humanity, carries the writer a long way in a task considered extremely difficult: for a white writer successfully to depict Negro character. Another element in the author's success is a technique which he has modified to his own use, that of the "hard-boiled" school. This technique, despite its negative philosophical basis, is highly successful in conveying the violent quality of American experience—a quality as common to Negro life as to the lives of Hemingway characters. While these varied elements have not yet reached a synthesis in Zinberg's style, they represent the enrichment of an American writing tradition and they make *Walk Hard, Talk Loud* well worth the reading.

RALPH ELLISON.

Family Novel

IN THE MONEY, *by William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.*

"IN THE MONEY" develops the story of Joe Stecher and his family, begun by William Carlos Williams in *White Mule.* In brief, it is the tale of Joe Stecher's rise from foreman in a printing plant to boss of his own printing firm. Through Joe Stecher's struggle to get "in the money" during the Teddy Roosevelt regime, the author describes convincingly the merciless laws and nature of business and the business nature of the government.

Dr. Williams continues to write in the vein he created in his first book, a surgical style that probes incisively into the phenomena of his characters' lives. His brilliant, clinical analyses of child personalities indicate the extent of his knowledge and deep love of children.

There are a few lapses in style because of a faulty narrative connection between the first and second books. But these are minor errors. *In the Money* contains among its more memorable passages a spirited description of a Christmas party which, for its warmth, opulence, and good humor, should take its place above holiday literature like Dickens' *Christmas Carol.*

At his present pace Dr. Williams makes a strong bid for the lead among the few American writers attempting to work in the realistic French tradition of the voluminous social and family novel. His work is superior in literary skill to the trilogies of one-dimensional portraits like *Studs Lonigan,* and more complete and sympathetic in its understanding of character and the motivations of human beings.

C. N. NETZER.

LAST WEEK
Artkino presents
A new Soviet film triumph
"The Great Beginning"
A psychological drama of the new Russian woman.
A Lenfilm production.
Continuous from 10 A.M.
Price 20c till 1 P.M. weekdays
MIAMI PLAYHOUSE
6th Ave. near 47th St., N. Y.
COMING:
"THE MANNERHEIM LINE"

JUST OUT
VICTOR RECORDS
Gift Suggestions
UP TO 50% REDUCTIONS
ON BEETHOVEN MASTERPIECES

		Old Price	Now
1	CONCERTO No. 5 in E FLAT MAJOR ("Emperor") Artur Schnabel, Piano—London Symphony Orch. —Malcolm Sargent	$10.00	$5.50
2	QUARTET No. 13 in B FLAT MAJOR Budapest String Quartet	10.00	5.50
3	SONATA No. 9 in A MAJOR ("Kreutzer") Violin, Piano — Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin.	8.00	4.50
4	TRIO No. 5 in D MAJOR ("Ghost Trio") Violin, Piano, Cello — Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin, Eisenberg	6.50	3.50
5	SYMPHONY No. 5 in C MINOR London Symphony—Koussevitsky	8.00	4.50

And Many Others!
BLOOMFIELD'S
Music Shop
118 EAST 14th STREET — GR. 7-2707
Easily Reached by BMT and IRT
MAIL AND PHONE ORDERS FILLED
OPEN EVENINGS AND SUNDAYS

New Masses As a Gift

Twenty-Week Subscriptions $2
Two Annual Subscriptions $3
(regularly $10)
Three Annual Subscriptions $11
(regularly $15)
[Your annual subscription renewal may be included in this special offer.]

NEW MASSES
461 Fourth Ave.
New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen:
Enclosed please find $.....
for which you may send Xmas gift subscriptions to:
Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . State . . . .
Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . State . . . .
XMAS 1940

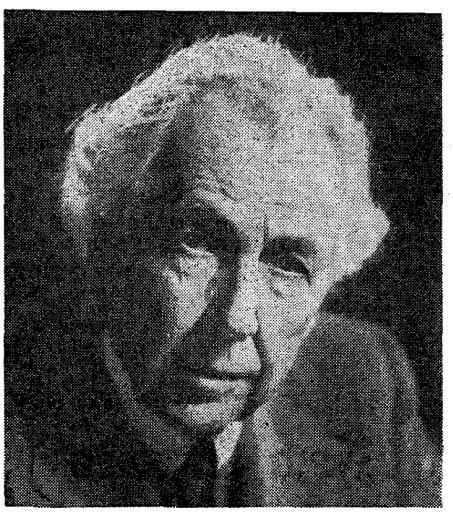
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Art of a Master Builder

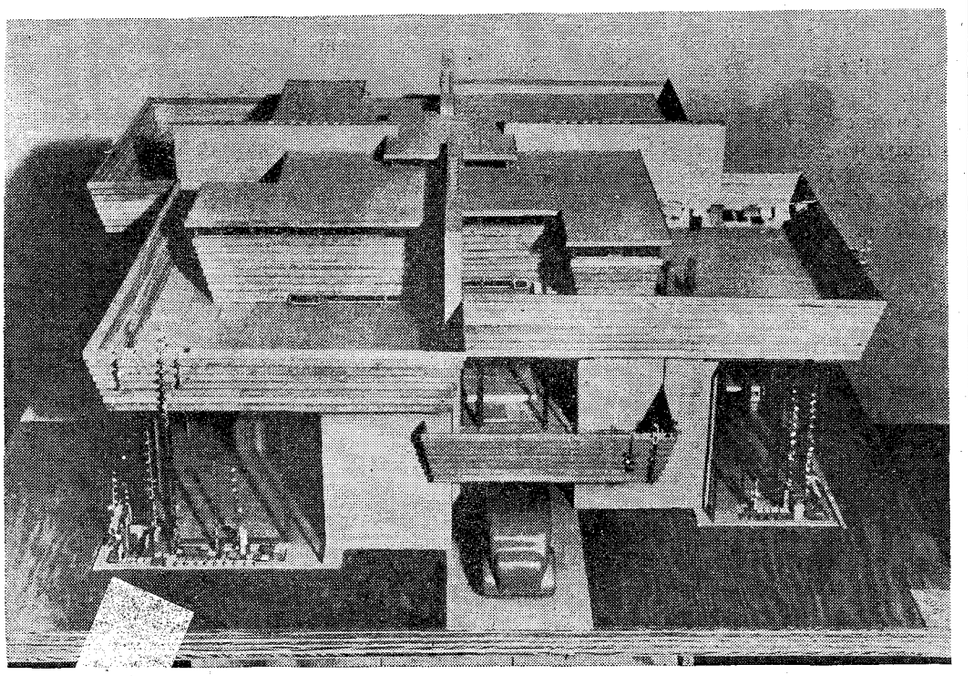
Frank Lloyd Wright's frontier of the new architecture. A commentary on his current exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. . . . Alvah Bessie reviews Ferenc Molnar's play.

FRANK Lloyd Wright, Richardson, and Sullivan are modern American architecture's trinity. For fifty years, Wright's fertile invention has ceaselessly evolved styles, methods, and concepts. A generation before the "International Style's" cubical formula captured the twenties, Wright gave the *Horizontal-Tendenz* superb esthetic expressions in his "prairie houses." He *is* a great American, as the Museum of Modern Art describes him in the exhibition on view till Jan. 5, 1941.

The character of his greatness, unfortunately, is not made clear in the exhibition. It is an archive of his *œuvre*—hundreds of uncatalogued items, labeled badly or not at all, with discrepancies of date and exaggerated claims, notably the "firsts" credited to the atelier Wright. Floor plans, cross-sections, perspective drawings, renderings, models, photographs, all have historic value. The exhibition does not, however, organize them into a progression of historic forces. It simply plumps down contents of files, drafting-table drawers, etc., and you can take your pick.



Wright came at the high tide of post-Civil War expansion. Crystal Palace, Bessemer, Jenney in Chicago—step by step, technics prepared for steel frame construction and the skyscraper. Wright used what he needed from technology—notably the cantilever principle employed in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel, in plans for a cantilever skyscraper never built, and in such domestic applications as the Kaufmann Bear Run house and the Sturges Los Angeles house.

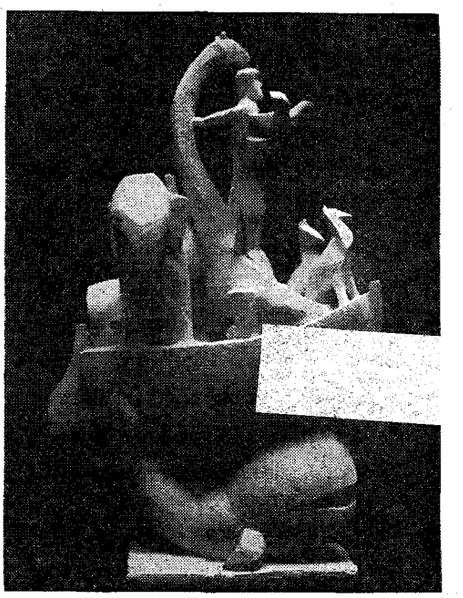


CENTER: *"The Deserted Shore," painted by Arthur Emptage, executive secretary of the American Artists Congress. Exhibited in a one-man show at the ACA Gallery until December 14.*

BELOW: *"Design for a Fountain," in plaster, by Milton Hebald. His exhibit follows Arthur Emptage's at the ACA Gallery.*

LEFT: *A recent photograph of Frank Lloyd Wright.*

LOWER LEFT: *One of Frank Lloyd Wright's housing models on exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, showing ingenious use of varied floor levels.*



Yet, at the time when the concentration of capital and of industry was intensifying in the United States, Wright took a formal path away from the issues of the time. Sullivan was designing office buildings, factories, warehouses—expressions of the age. Wright—for a complex of reasons (personality, conservatism of the average client's taste, social inertia to technical change)—found his channel of action in domestic architecture. In the "prairie style," the low, flat, expansive volume repeated a hundred times in his designs, he evolved a form suitable to clients' requirements and expressive of social values. This style was the counterpart of economic expansion; the movement of indoor space into outdoor space represented conspicuous consumption of shelter by those who were able to afford a kind of materially spacious and luxurious living. By the solutions Wright makes of his problems, his becomes a class architecture,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

produced at a unit cost far in excess of the incomes of the millions who need shelter.

The physical spreading of Wright's plan continued, except for rare projects never built —St. Mark's Tower, the cantilever skyscraper. Plans for the House on the Mesa (not in the exhibition), for San Marcos in the Desert, finally for Broadacres, Wright's ambitious adventure into community planning, all express in differing degrees a space sense constantly more diffused in the horizontal plane. Statements from placards in the exhibition emphasize the point: a minimum of an acre a person is necessary for "A New Freedom," which will be attained (Wright believes) through "Usonian democracy," Usonia being Samuel Butler's word for a country utopia. Here is an architecture of decentralization.

The fallacy of the syllogism is, one would say, that an economics of abundance whereby an acre of land is provided for every human being to live on is not attained in the drafting-room. The rebuilding of society will not, despite rhetoric, be accomplished by abstract projects for a new physical, architectural environment for humanity.

Yet it would be untrue to say that Wright's architecture is a staircase which leads nowhere. His rich, sensuous use of materials, brick, wood, concrete, glass, canvas, is a natural satisfaction of the human hunger for beauty. His expansive space conceptions are comparable to the common human aspiration for security with freedom, a fact indicated by his sympathetic interest in the Soviet Union's social and scientific developments. The attributes which seem anti-social when they are the possession of the few would be virtues if they were shared by all. In this sense, Wright sets a frontier for the new architecture, which will be noble, spacious, physically worthy of the dignity of human life.

ISABEL COOPER.

"Delicate Story"

Ferenc Molnar's new play with Edna Best and others.

GROWING old, an exile in a foreign land, Ferenc Molnar, quondam author of *Liliom, The Guardsman, The Glass Slipper, The Swan,* and other continental fairy-tales, has found the perfect title for a new effort: *Delicate Story;* it might, in fact, well be the inclusive title for his opera omnia.

For years we have cherished a picture of Mr. Molnar, his monocle screwed into one eye, his long cigarette holder between his lips, sitting in the sidewalk cafes of Buda on the Pest, watching the world go by with a sophisticated smile for its foibles. Molnar has always been a craftsman; he has always been the possessor of a light touch. That touch is now so light as to be imperceptible.

It is my opinion that you would find *Delicate Story* an insult to your intelligence and your sensibilities these days. Set in Switzerland in the spring of 1940, the "drama" revolves about the female proprietor of a deli-

GALA STARS FOR CHINA & DANCE

FEATURING

★ EARL ROBINSON ★ WILL GEER ★ MORDECAI BAUMAN
★ CAFE SOCIETY FLOOR SHOW ★ PHIL LEEDS & TROUPE
★ WOODY GUTHRIE ★ DANCE TO THE STRAINS OF THE
★ LEADBELLY "HARMONY SWINGSTERS" *and others*

Saturday, December 21—8:30 P. M.

Hotel Diplomat, 43rd St., East of B'way
33c in advance; 99c at door
Tickets sold at 168 West 23rd Street

Auspices: MARITIME CHAPTER
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE
168 West 23rd Street CH 3-7674

Premiere: SUN., JAN. 5, at 8:30 P.M.

"No for an Answer"
AN OPERA IN 2 ACTS by MARC BLITZSTEIN

FIRST NIGHT PROCEEDS TO AMERICAN RESCUE SHIP MISSION

Tickets $3.30, $2.20, $1.65, $1.10, 83¢
At Room 810, 200 FIFTH AVE and LEBLANG'S

MECCA TEMPLE 130 W. 56th ST.

RESCUE SPANISH REFUGEES

TEACHERS UNION DANCE

featuring

★ Lora Duncan — Strange Fruit
★ Stark & O'Brien — Comedy and Dance
★ Ledbelly — Folk songs
★ Rosaly Harvey — Political Satirist
★ Modern Swingsters — Orchestra

SATURDAY Eve., Dec. 21, 1940 — 9 P.M.
at Mecca Temple, 132 West 55 St., N. Y. Tendered by WPA Teachers Union, 453, 28 West 31 St., N. Y.
Admission: 60 cents in advance, 75 cents at door.

"The name itself is 'theatre': it isn't phony like 'Barrymore.' Davenport is the theatre, what a great Thespian should be."—P. M.

DAVENPORT FREE THEATRE
138 East 27th Street, N. Y. C.
"A WOMAN'S WAY" Ibsen's "THE MASTER BUILDER"
3 act comedy, Tues. & Wed. Thurs. & Fri., 8:30 P.M.
"THE BELLS"—3 act drama—Sat. & Sun.
ADMISSION FREE

"You will not find a better evening's entertainment in New York." —Alvah Bessie, New Masses
"For a whale of a time," see the
AMERICAN YOUTH THEATRE
(Formerly FLATBUSH ARTS THEA.)
present
"A PEACE OF OUR MIND"
A new musical review, and
DANCING to Jerry Jives and his Swingsters
SAT. EVG., DEC. 14th
FRATERNAL CLUBHOUSE 110 West 48th St. N. Y. C.

The Music Room Offers
VICTOR RECORDS
Reduced Up To 50%

"RECORD MUSTS" in "AMERICANA"

	Now
Ballad for Americans — *Paul Robeson*	$1.50
Ballads of American Revolution — *John & Lucy Allison & Minute Men*	3.00
Early American Folk Songs — *John Jacob Niles*	3.50
Dust Bowl Ballads (per vol.) — *Woodie Guthrie*	2.00
Abe Lincoln in Illinois — *Raymond Massey*	2.75

MUSICAL MASTERPIECES

	Now
Beethoven Violin Concerto — *Heifetz & Toscanini cond'ng NBC Sym.*	$5.00
Peter & the Wolf—Prokofieff — *Koussevitsky conducting Boston Sym.*	3.50
Cesar Franck D Minor Symphony — *Stokowski conducting Phila. Symphony*	6.50
Brahms Violin Concerto — *Heifetz & Koussevitsky conducting Boston Symphony*	5.00
Tchaikovsky Romeo & Juliet Over. — *Koussevitsky conducting Boston Sym.*	3.50

ERIC BERNAY'S Music Room
Union Shop

133 W. 44th St., N. Y.
Mail Orders Filled Promptly

LO 3-4420
OPEN EVENINGS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Perfect Christmas Gift

One Year of New Masses Plus an Outstanding Book

		Our Gift Combination Price
1.	ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY AND PRIVATE PROPERTY *by Frederick Engels* . . . . . regularly $6.00	$5.00
2.	LABOR IN WARTIME *by John Steuben* . regularly $6.00	5.00
3.	THE McKENNEYS CARRY ON *by Ruth McKenney* regularly $7.00	6.00
4.	SCIENCE IN EVERYDAY LIFE *by J. B. S. Haldane* regularly $7.00	6.00
5.	WE ARE MANY *by Ella Reeve Bloor* . . regularly $7.00	6.00
6.	WHY FARMERS ARE POOR *by Anna Rochester* regularly $7.25	6.00
7.	THE SOVIET POWER *by Hewlett Johnson (Dean of Canterbury)* . . . . . regularly $7.50	6.00
8.	THE FAT YEARS AND THE LEAN *by Bruce Minton and John Stuart* . . . . . regularly $7.50	6.00
9.	DIALECTICS OF NATURE *by Frederick Engels* regularly $7.50	6.00
10.	DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE *by Harry F. Ward* regularly $7.50	6.00
11.	RACE: SCIENCE AND POLITICS *by Ruth Benedict* regularly $7.50	6.00
12.	THE CAT'S CRADLE BOOK *by Sylvia Townsend Warner* regularly $7.50	6.00
13.	DAGO RED *by John Fante* . . . . . regularly $7.50	6.00
14.	THE MAN WHO LOVED CHILDREN *by Christina Stead* regularly $7.75	6.00
15.	THE LIFE OF MY MOTHER *by Oskar Maria Graf* regularly $7.75	6.00
16.	WITCH HUNT *by George Seldes* . . . . regularly $7.75	6.00
17.	THE ARGONAUTS *by Lillian Ross, George Whitman, and others* . . . . . regularly $7.75	6.00
18.	MY NATIVE LAND *by Anna Louise Strong* . regularly $7.75	6.00
19.	AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT KARL MARX *by William Blake* . . . . . regularly $8.25	6.00
20.	THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS *by James Weldon Johnson and Rosamund Johnson* . *regularly $7.95*	6.50
21.	THIS IS MY OWN *by Rockwell Kent* . . regularly $8.50	6.50
22.	ULTIMA THULE *by Vihljalmur Stefansson* . regularly $8.50	6.50
23.	A TREASURY OF AMERICAN SONG *by Olin Downes and Elie Siegmeister* . . . . . regularly $10.00	7.50

(These offers apply both to new subscriptions and to renewals.)

NEW MASSES: 461 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
Gentlemen:
I wish to take advantage of your Gift Combination No..... Enclosed find $.....
You may send the book to:

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

The one-year subscription to NEW MASSES (or renewal), you may send to:

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

NM 12-17-40

catessen store and a young man who is about to join the army of his foreign country. The "silly little storekeeper," married to a stodgy man of forty-eight, falls for the young stranger; thinks he loves her vastly. It is her rationalized opinion that women can best serve the world by making soldiers "happy" before they go to death; read, sleep with them. This our Mary Christof (Edna Best) badly wants to do. She flutters her eyes, breathes like a steam engine, speaks in lachrymose numbers of the great holocaust, the international tragedy, the poor dear soldiers. And the soldier has her dead to rights—he says she is full of "repressed longings."

Item: jealous husband; item: subpena from the police; item: tears and explanations from the wife; item: explanation (without tears) from the soldier. He loves the lady not; it was all a sad mistake; it is another girl he loves—and he has only come to the delicatessen store to look at his lady, who works across the street! Do you get the point? (And this is the work of a grown-up man.)

Edna Best is an actress of enormous magnetism and considerable talent. You can respect the job she does, if not her vehicle, for with the exception of one scene in the office of the local police (which is delicious nonsense), the drama evaporates while you watch it. There is a large cast, but with the exception of Jay Fassett (the husband), a bit-player (Leslie King), and a little red-headed girl (Patsy O'Shea), who speaks two lines, the rest do not matter. But I'd like to see Miss Patsy O'Shea again; she is about four years old, and she is charming.

ALVAH BESSIE.

About Chaplin's Film

Daniel Todd discusses the rumors concerning "The Great Dictator."

THERE have been rumors that the movie industry is doing its best to kill *The Great Dictator*. I am told that the United Artists sales force was called together in several emergency sessions to create the impression that the picture's plight was desperate. I am also told that the trade press has been suppressing box-office figures and thereby undermining the morale of the exhibitors. These rumors are not true. They spring from the authentic job done on *Blockade*, the picture about Spain two years ago. That time the trade journals, collaborating with the Hearst press and a few Catholic dignitaries, worked up such a feeling of hysteria against *Blockade* that many exhibitors were afraid to show it. The same thing was tried with *The Grapes of Wrath*. Martin Quigley, who thinks of himself as the most powerful figure in movies, excommunicated it in the *Motion Picture Herald* and wrote a piece each week during its three-month run at the Rivoli in New York about how badly it was doing. In some small towns, especially in California where theater mortgages are held by farmer-bankers in the Associated Farmers, *The*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES Classified Ads

50c a line. Payable in Advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri. 4 p.m.

ART EXHIBITION & SALE

A Xmas Exhibition and sale of PAINTINGS, WATER COLORS, PRINTS & SCULPTURE priced from $1 to $50 is NOW being held at the AMERICAN ARTISTS SCHOOL, 131 West 14th Street, N. Y. C., THROUGH JANUARY 4th, DAILY from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. and from 7:30 P.M. to 10 P.M. — SATURDAYS from 10 A.M. to 11 P.M.

FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN offers you exceptionally low rates on custom made coats and jackets. Remodeling and Repairing done to perfection. Try us. ARMAND ET SOEUR, 145 West 30 St., CHickering 4-1424.

INSTRUCTION—SCHOOLS

COURSES in Dalcroze Eurythmics and the Dance for Musicians, Dancers, Actors, Laymen. Register now at the ASSOCIATED SCHOOLS, 303 West 125 St. Bulletin on request.

INSURANCE

Whatever your needs — PAUL CROSBIE, established since 1908—FREQUENT SAVINGS, 135 William St., N. Y. Tel. BEekman 3-5262.

PERSONAL

GREETING CARDS for all occasions. Individual XMAS & NEW YEAR cards made to your order by well-known artist. Write NM Box 1747.

PHOTOGRAPHERS

PISTOL PERMIT "PHOTOS"? NO! NO! I do a truly *fine* portrait of you, yet kindly to your Xmas-gift purse. Also: Commercial work; photographic instruction; dark room rental; rates low. Lind, 218 Greene St., N. Y. C. GR. 5-6299.

VACATION RESORTS

TANGLEWOOD is OPEN ALL WINTER. Come for your vacation or week-end. Write Tanglewood, Woodstock, N. Y. or call Woodstock 14F13.

VOLUNTEERS FOR NEW MASSES WANTED

NEW MASSES would be grateful for VOLUNTEER clerical HELP in circulation campaign. Apply Room 1204, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

WEARING APPAREL

"VALUES NOT LABELS" at MISS GOODMAN'S who is having a special reduction on all her exclusive Model Dresses, Coats and Stunning Dinner and Evening Gowns. 474 7th Av. (36 St.) LA 4-4013.

GOINGS ON

A. B. MAGIL, editor, New Masses, analyzes the week's news, Sunday, December 15, 8:30 P.M., Workers School, 50 East 13th Street. Admission 25 cents.

The ASSOCIATED SCHOOLS announces its GRAND OPENING in Harlem on SAT. EVE., Dec. 14, 9 P.M. at 303 West 125 St. Guests of honor—Katherine Dunham, Kamaladevi, Wm. C. Handy. Alison Burroughs, Director, invites you. Subs. 50 cents.

NEW MASSES READERS' LEAGUE

I wish to become a member of the Readers' League. Please send me membership card and all material on the League's activities.

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

Telephone . . . . . .

12-17-40

Grapes of Wrath was not shown, but elsewhere it was shown often enough to earn $1,700,000 on a $900,000 investment.

Here are the facts about *The Great Dictator:* Chaplin is a big stockholder in United Artists, and any salesmen who spread panic about a Chaplin picture would be fired. Chaplin has been in New York since *The Great Dictator* opened, watching the publicity. Two months ago, a new United Artists sales manager was installed, and in the fantastic political maneuverings within United Artists, he has always worked with Chaplin. The trade press at first treated *The Great Dictator* the same way as the reviewers on the dailies: it didn't say it was a picture which gave heart to people who wanted happiness and security in a peaceful world, and therefore bad, but it said that the jokes weren't funny and art and propaganda didn't mix. But it didn't suppress the box-office figures.

In contrast to the reception given Chaplin's final speech, which most of the critics thought was an artistic blunder because it had no bearing on the rest of the picture, was the reception given to the final speech by Joel McCrea in *Foreign Correspondent.* That speech actually did have no bearing on the rest of the picture. The picture was lengthened by five minutes for the sole purpose of including it. It was an appeal to arms from a foreign correspondent who had just shown up the head of a British peace society as a German agent, so the critics welcomed it with whimpers of pleasure. The best comment on the talk about art and propaganda and how they don't mix is that the day after the New York *Daily News* gave *The Great Dictator* three stars, it gave four stars to *Arise My Love.*

Despite the fact that the critical comments used in the ads had to be taken from their context, the receipts at the Astor and the Capitol have been bigger for *The Great Dictator* than for *Gone With the Wind,* which got a two-column head on the front page of the *Times* when it opened. *The Great Dictator* played the Capitol seven weeks; it continues at the Astor. The only other place it has played is Los Angeles, and it has already grossed $1,500,000. Chaplin has given up his plans to show it around the country at high prices, which now doesn't seem to be necessary. I was glad to read this news, because the sooner everyone in America sees *The Great Dictator,* the better.

The Great Beginning, the fine picture of the life of a Soviet woman (which, at the end of the picture, has just begun), is being held another week, and anyone within commuting distance of the Miami Theatre should see it.

DANIEL TODD.

Rodney

BRONX MUSIC CENTER

presents

VICTOR MASTERPIECES

"THE GIFT THAT KEEPS ON GIVING"

At Price Reductions up to 50%

	Was	Our New low Price
BACH—Toccata and Fugue in D Minor *Stokowski and Philadelphia Orchestra*	**$2.00**	**$1.00**
BEETHOVEN—Concerto for Violin and Orchestra *Heifetz and Toscanini with N.B.C. Orchestra*	**9.00**	**5.00**
BEETHOVEN—Symphony No. 9 (Choral) *Stokowski and Philadelphia Orchestra*	**17.00**	**9.00**
BRAHMS—Concerto for Violin and Orchestra *Heifetz and Koussevitzky with Boston Symphony Orchestra*	**9.00**	**5.00**
ENESCO—Roumanian Rhapsody No. 1 *Ormandy and Minneapolis Symphony*	**3.00**	**1.50**
PROKOFIEFF—Classical Symphony *Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony Orchestra*	**4.00**	**2.00**
TSCHAIKOWSKY—Concerto No. 1 for Piano and Orchestra *Arthur Rubinstein with London Philharmonic*	**8.00**	**4.50**

Write for descriptive catalogues

Bronx Music Center

383 EAST 149th st.
NEW YORK
MELROSE 5-1413

EDWIN CORNFIELD, *Proprietor*

Open Evenings until 9 P. M. Saturday until 11 P. M.
FREE DELIVERY ON ALL PHONE & MAIL ORDERS

JOSHUA KUNITZ

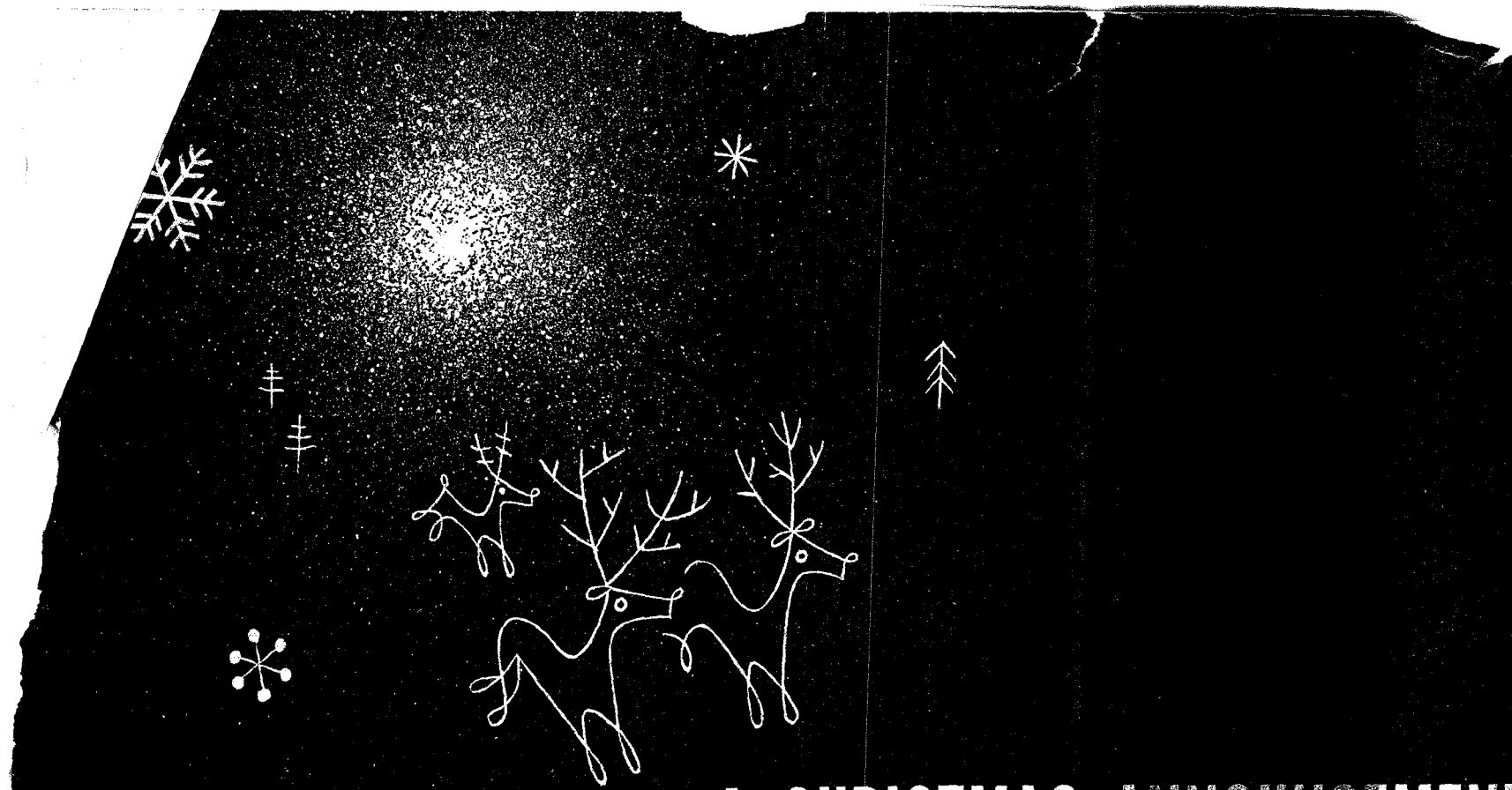
Author of *Dawn Over Samarkand,* is one of the foremost authorities on the Soviet Union. During a long residence in the land of socialism, he studied minutely all phases of Soviet life: as industry, culture, and government. He has long been a favorite of New Masses' readers. Mr. Kunitz is available for lecture dates.

For further information write or call

JEAN STANLEY
New Masses Lecture Service
461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. CA 5-3076

Please mention NEW MASSES *when patronizing advertisers*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A CHRISTMAS ANNOUNCEMENT

from the NEW MASSES

LIBRARY
DEC 14 1940

CHRISTMAS CAROLS . . . CHRISTMAS BELLS . . . AND BENEATH THE HOLIDAY TREE A YEAR'S GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO NEW MASSES. YOUR FRIENDS WILL APPRECIATE NEW MASSES THROUGHOUT THE NEXT CRITICAL YEAR, AND YOU WILL HAVE DONE YOUR BIT TOWARD WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST INVOLVING AMERICA IN THE WAR— NEW MASSES' FIGHT AS WELL AS YOURS. DO YOUR NEW MASSES SHOPPING NOW

See pages 27 and 30

//

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED